

# Zones of Influence: The Production of Madrid in Early Franco Spain

Adam Lee Winkel

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

2014



## ABSTRACT

### **Zones of Influence: The Production of Madrid in Early Franco Spain**

**Adam Lee Winkel**

Within Spanish cultural studies, urban studies have become increasingly popular in the last twenty years. While this literature covers a wide range of Spanish locales and historical periods, there are still few comprehensive analyses of the production of Madrid's urban space between the Civil War and the economic boom of the 1960s. This dissertation contributes to the field through the examination of the symbolic production and use of Madrid during the first decades of the Franco dictatorship. I argue that the disciplining of Madrid's urban space was a means of organizing the capital's citizens into ordered subjects during a time of transition. This process was carried out primarily through the creation of expectations of how the spaces around the urban subject were best lived. My analytical approach is based on case studies and close readings of films, novels, and official documents such as speeches, maps, laws, and urban policies that were produced during the 1940s and 50s. It is an interdisciplinary study of the disciplining of Madrid and its inhabitants.

The dissertation is organized spatially; each chapter focuses on a different aspect of Madrid's urban fabric, which extends outward in a series of concentric circles. My first chapter, "Home Life: Domestic Struggles in Comedic Film," deals with the most intimate human space, the home. Four films, *Esa pareja feliz* (dir. Juan Antonio Bardem and Luis García Berlanga, 1951), *El inquilino* (dir. José Antonio Nieves Conde, 1957), *La vida por delante* (dir. Fernando Fernán Gómez, 1958), and *El pisito* (dir. Marco Ferreri, 1959) illustrate how pressures of

ownership transformed the home into a powerful tool of control and homogenization by blurring the lines between public and private space. In Chapter 2, “A Wandering Man: Fragmentation and Discipline in *La colmena*,” I show that this tension spread to the city streets portrayed in Camilo José Cela’s novel (1951), where fragmentation and separation worked to break down the threat of collective action and caused individuals to search for a productive role in society. In the 1950s, the push of hunger and the pull of industrialization drew migrants to Madrid in search of jobs and material comforts, only to find themselves displaced to the periphery of the capital, reinforcing their marginal status. This demographic transformation forms the basis for my third chapter, “No Limits! The City in *Surcos* and *Los golfos*,” in which I analyze two key films from the decade, José Antonio Nieves Conde’s *Surcos* (1951) and Carlos Saura’s *Los golfos* (1959). Finally, Chapter Four, ““Ya se aburren de tanta capital’: Leisure, Language, and Law in *El Jarama*” examines Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio’s novel (1956) to explore how citizens looking for relief from the pressures of city life in the surrounding countryside only found that this leisure space was under the control of its own disciplinary forces. The novels and films that I include in this study demonstrate how the discipline of the Spanish capital extended to all of the city’s zones to create a model of urban citizenship that blurred the lines between public and private space and between individual and collective subjects.

## Table of Contents

List of Illustrations	ii
Acknowledgments	iii
Introduction. Zones of Influence	1
1. Home Life: Domestic Struggles in Comedic Film	35
2. A Wandering Man: Fragmentation and Discipline in <i>La colmena</i>	79
3. No Limits! The City in <i>Surcos</i> and <i>Los golfos</i>	118
4. “Ya se aburren de tanta capital”: Leisure, Language, and Law in <i>El Jarama</i>	161
Conclusion	200
Works Cited	207

## **List of Illustrations**

Figure 1. Plan General de Ordenación de Madrid (Plan Bidagor) - General Map	7
Figure 2. Plan General de Ordenación de Madrid (Plan Bidagor) - Map of Green Zones	162

## **Acknowledgments**

I wish to thank a number of people whose guidance and support made the completion of this project possible. First and foremost I must express my deep gratitude to my advisor Alberto Medina, who arrived at Columbia just as I was looking for someone to guide me through this process. He is a demanding, erudite, engaged, and (thankfully) rapid reader who constantly challenged my assumptions and expanded my views. Wadda Ríos-Font and Gonzalo Sobejano have been professors, committee members, and mentors, and I am honored to have had the chance to form relationships with such esteemed scholars. The same can be said for Jo Labanyi and Graciela Montaldo, who have generously agreed to serve on my dissertation defense committee. All of you have been inspirational to me as I begin my career and think about what kind of professor and scholar I want to become. Thank you for being such astounding models.

When I enrolled at Columbia, the Department of Latin American and Iberian Cultures was still known as the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, and my evolution as a person and as a scholar owes much to the department's concurrent transformation. Carlos J. Alonso and Eunice Rodríguez Ferguson have always been generous in their support and friendship. Elizabeth Amann was a reader of my comprehensive exams, and many of the ideas that I have developed in this dissertation originated in conversations I had with her. One of the few constants at the department during this transition was Kosmas Pissakos, who was helpful to me from my first visit to Columbia as a potential applicant to my last day before leaving for North Carolina.

I am also very pleased to be able to thank Carole Head, Hayden Carrón, Claudia Femenías, Michael McCully, and my colleagues at High Point University for their patience, support, and friendship as I finished this project after having already begun another. Thank you

to Dean Carole Stoneking, Provost Dennis Carroll, and the HPU administration for a generous Doctoral Completion Grant.

My friends and family are the principal reason I never suffered the isolation and desperation that seems to plague so many doctoral students. Thanks especially to James Uden, Erik Hamer, Brendan Lanctot, and Simon Taylor for the many hours we spent together discovering how to do what we do while managing to lead full, balanced, enjoyable lives. Thank you to Pamela McCorduck for demonstrating how a writer thinks and for encouraging me to do it. Thank you to my family for their unwavering love and support: my brother Nicolas, my sister Katherine, and my parents, David Winkel and Angèle Tremblay.

Finally, thanks to Jill Bender, for appearing in my life right when I needed her and accompanying me through to the end of this project. Here's to the completion of many more.



To the memory of Leon M. Winkel, who hung lights on the Brooklyn Bridge,  
and to Amelia Winkel, whose first-grade teacher would not call on her when she raised her hand.

## **Introduction. Zones of Influence**

During the 1940s, in a reflection of the Franco regime's national autarkic politics, Madrid was isolated from the rest of the country. This time, however, rather than the walls that had been erected to repel invaders in the city's Muslim and medieval Christian periods, the capital would be surrounded by a ring of industrial zones and "green belts" proposed as buffers against migrants from the rural areas of Spain. Much of this urban planning was highly influenced by members of the Falange, Spain's fascist party. The Falange's social policy depended quite heavily on imposing limits on a population that it considered largely out of control. Its hatred of democratic politics stemmed from a distrust of the masses' capability to maintain their own "order," and its economic views lay mainly on bases of statism and control (Payne 296). Not coincidentally, an overwhelming part of the rhetoric used by the regime to justify the Civil War itself was to reestablish an order that had been lost in Spain's recent liberal past. The regime believed that Madrid had to "pay for its sins" as the heart of the abominable Second Republic and as the last holdout of resistance to Franco's Nationalist armies: "arrasar, por la muerte, la hoguera y el derribo, cualquier recuerdo de lo que había sido el Madrid proletario, profesional y republicano de los años anteriores" (Juliá, Ringrose, and Segura 548). Paradoxically, the regime also recognized that as the seat of a very centralized power, the city needed to reestablish its position within the nation by reinforcing its *capitalidad*. Madrid was segmented, restructured, and rebuilt in order to protect the administrative heart of the capital, and the city was remodeled to eradicate the recent past and return it to its glory as capital of the Spanish "empire." This push to reform would have lasting effects on the city's development during the following decades, but would also encounter resistance from a variety of sectors.

This dissertation is an investigation into the disciplining of the public and private urban space of Madrid during the early decades of the Franco dictatorship, especially the 1950s. This discipline, I argue, was the main element of an evolution in the position of urban space within the social imaginary of Franco's Spain. As migration and economic modernization transformed Spain's capital, the discourse surrounding urban space also changed. In using the term "discipline," I am referring to Michel Foucault's description of disciplinary power as a force that "trains the moving, confused, useless multitudes of bodies and forces into a multiplicity of individual elements" (170). In other words, I demonstrate how the discourse created by the period's official and artistic texts worked to organize the capital's citizens into ordered subjects. The implied citizen that was conceived of through urban planning and architecture emerged as a model to be followed by established residents and recent arrivals alike. This model was constructed primarily through the creation of expectations of how the spaces around the urban subject were best lived.

An important factor in this evolution was the shift of Madrid from a primarily bureaucratic and service center to an industrialized, capitalist city. Twenty years ago, when Spanish cultural studies were still "in their infancy," Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi stated that a central conflict of the Franco period was the "cleavage within modernity between the imperative to capitalistic economic development and the liberal democratic cultural project of national inclusion" (15). Throughout this project I have held this conflict in mind, and I have let it guide me while I have delved into a historical period that is usually thought of as a transition (in Spanish, the term *década bisagra* is often used) between the scarcity of autarky and the economic boom of the 1960s. The decade of the 1950s was a time of contradiction within the regime, in which the tenor of its rhetoric was undergoing a shift from the autarky and isolation of the immediate postwar to

a “friendlier” model that would open the nation to Europe and to the rest of the world. That economic modernization did not coincide with the traditional social structure that the regime wished to maintain, however. The city, and especially the capital city, is a privileged space in which to study this conflict because it was a place of encounter for the different sectors of society with which I am most concerned.

Within this context of disciplinary struggle, I interrogate the vision of urban space as produced by a variety of texts released or published in the 1950s. I focus on novels and films whose similarities in style and content are especially acute, as they were all created with a social conscience that attempted to reflect the status of everyday lives in postwar Madrid. These novels and films are in many ways critical of the urban policies of the regime, even though they emerged from a variety of ideological positions that ranged from disaffected Falange purists to more liberal, dissident viewpoints. Together with official rhetoric—expressed in urban plans and laws, speeches, party platforms, and censorship notices—these literary and filmic texts reveal the ways in which the regime’s geographical, ideological, and economic urban vision displaced many of Madrid’s inhabitants into the gaps and spaces that formed the capital’s physical and psychological margins. The novels and films that I deal with are not marginal in themselves, however, and they are widely recognized within current Spanish cultural studies as canonical texts from this period. By establishing a dialogue among three modes of expression—manifestations of the official discourse mentioned above, novels such as *La colmena* and *El Jarama*, and films such as *Surcos*, *El inquilino*, and *Esa pareja feliz*—this project uncovers how government planners, politicians, authors, and filmmakers constructed a comprehensive vision of Madrid during the first half of the Franco dictatorship. Taken together, these texts produced a

city that was not simply defined by its architecture and physical boundaries, but by the position it held within its citizens' imaginary.

To situate this study of the production of Madrid's space in the early Franco era, let us first consider one of its initial and most fundamental documents, the *Ley de Ordenación Urbana de Madrid y sus Alrededores*. This law, passed in 1946, was based on the *Plan General de Ordenación de Madrid* prepared by the Comisión Técnica of the Junta de Reconstrucción de Madrid, which had been commissioned in 1939 and whose director was Pedro Bidagor, an old-guard Falangist. Because of his leadership, the plan that formed the basis of the law is often referred to as the Plan Bidagor. By the mid 1940s, Falangism was already falling out of favor with the regime due to the defeat of the Axis powers in World War II. This led to a “defascistization” of the regime,<sup>1</sup> in which early Falange members were eliminated from many top positions in the government. However, it is important to note that Falangists still played a significant role in urban planning and architecture throughout the 1950s. Among these were Bidagor, the dominant figure in Spanish urban planning from 1939 to 1969, and the architect José Luis Arrese, former secretary general of the Falange and the first Minister of Housing, from 1957 to 1960.

The Plan Bidagor is a fascinating document for what it reveals of the Falangist vision of urban development and organization. It is recognized that much of the “functional segmentation” included in the Plan Bidagor was based on pre-war development plans prepared under the direction of Secundino Zuazo, the most important urbanist of the Republican period (Juliá, Ringrose, and Segura 434). However, the ideological focus by the Falangist urbanists on the

---

<sup>1</sup> This process has been proposed and chronicled by Stanley Payne, most notably in his *Fascism in Spain: 1923-77*. According to Payne, this process began as soon as 1941, after which the FET y de las JONS (as the Falange was known during the Franco dictatorship) would increasingly be subordinated to other sectors of the regime (362).

city's *capitalidad* (its essence as Spain's capital) created a special set of conditions that would distinguish it from earlier planning. More importantly, that *capitalidad* created a "zone of influence" over its surrounding areas. The government order, that established the formation of the Junta de Reconstrucción de Madrid states: "Por otra parte Madrid, por el peso de su capitalidad y de su jerarquía, influye sobre la comarca que le rodea, y es imprescindible que sobre toda esa *zona de influencia* directa de la Capitalidad exista una completa unidad en el criterio y dirección de sus planes urbanísticos" ("Plan General," emphasis added).<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the Plan focused on several factors intended to transform the city into a "ciudad al servicio de España": population growth, cultural and economic development, access to the urban center, suburban planning (in what was called "satellite towns"), and the establishment of "green zones." The paradox of the Plan is that while it claimed that reestablishing the *capitalidad* of Madrid was one of its main components, its basic premise was designed around making Madrid into a "fortress," impenetrable to the newly arriving masses of migrants in search of jobs. The importance of the city "at the service of Spain" was consequently derived from its distinction from the rest of the country.

Much of the ideological basis of the Plan was expressed through its conception of limits, which were designed to restrict freedoms and create structure where chaos and equality had supposedly once reigned. Upon Madrid's "zone of influence," planners wished to reestablish an order that they considered missing from the city since the mid-nineteenth century (that is to say, absent from the previous period of liberalism that had led to the disastrous—in the eyes of the regime— Second Republic). The reestablishment of order was at the heart of official rhetoric

---

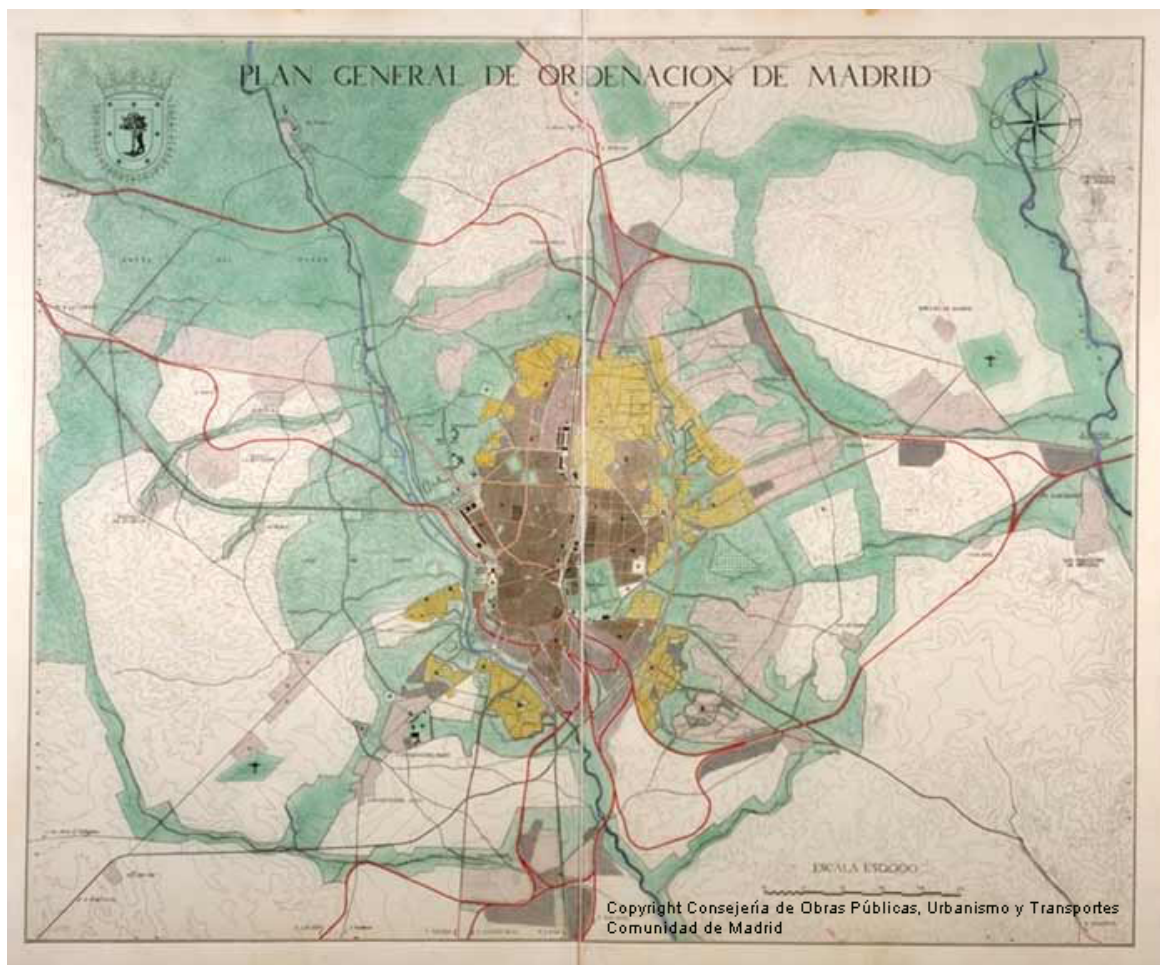
<sup>2</sup> Quotes from the Plan Bidagor are cited as "Plan General." A facsimile copy of the Plan is found in *Plan Bidagor 1941-1946: Plan General de Ordenación de Madrid*. Ed. Carlos Sambricio. Because the facsimile pages are not numbered, I have attempted to make clear in my text the section of the Plan whence the quote appears. If the quote comes from a specific point of the plan's proposal, the number and letter of the point is cited.

that was used to justify the Civil War itself. In this way, limits on freedoms were translated into limits on space by making sure that everything had a designated space of its own. In the introduction to its proposals for the “Ordenación General de Madrid, the Plan Bidagor declared:

Frente a la situación anterior de igualdad y libertad que en la ciudad se traducía en uniformidad de trazados y preocupación de líneas y no de órganos y en la anarquía de usos en todo el suelo urbano y extraurbano, la tendencia actual, coincidente con la tradición cortada a mediados del siglo pasado, *es la de establecer límites a las diferentes actividades* y sentar el principio de la colaboración y armonía de todos los extensos sectores que intervienen en la ordenación y expansión de la ciudad, para contener las libres competencias y las especulaciones desenfrenadas que habían roto los principios de ordenación interior (usos) y exteriores (suburbios) clásicos en la ciudad. (“Plan General,” emphasis added)

In the Madrid of the Plan Bidagor, segmentation was key to establishing limits “on different activities.” Upon the passing of the *Ley de Ordenación Urbana de Madrid* in 1946, Franco himself proclaimed that the city had to be divided by reforms in order to “alter its physiognomy of the past” (qtd. in Juliá, Ringrose, and Segura 559). Madrid expanded in a series of concentric circles as the forces of industrialization and the regime’s efforts to control the urban growth worked together to create the city’s space. This effort at controlled urban growth was fomented by the underlying condition of the authoritarian state, founded on police repression and undemocratic administration at both national and local levels (Castells 222). As the capital,

Madrid would undergo urban renewal in its center, transforming residential areas into tributes to the regime in the form of monumental architecture, much of which was never completed. Meanwhile, the actual industry that was attracting migrants to the capital would be established in the outskirts and suburbs, thereby further protecting the city from the arrival of those same rural migrants.



**Figure 1. Plan General de Ordenación de Madrid (Plan Bidagor) - General Map**

The maps produced with the Plan Bidagor show brightly colored zoning sections, with housing in shades of yellow, industries in gray and red, and green zones in a fitting green (see



Figure 1). Spatial theorists have used this type of bird's-eye view to distinguish between the planned city and the city that emerges through its citizens' usage. Here, it also lends itself as an illustration of the growth of Madrid during the 1940s and 50s, and as an organizational principle for the dissertation. This study thus encompasses not only the "real" city, as a planned and built environment, but as the "city-text" theorized by Michel de Certeau: the "migrational" or "metaphorical" city that is produced by the everyday life of its citizens (93). A significant part of this project is an inquiry into the dynamics of public and private life and how the inhabitants of Madrid negotiate the space around them, be it the public space they encounter in streets and leisure areas, or the intimate spaces of the home. These conceptual and physical spaces are each examined in turn, through literary or cinematic texts whose protagonists must move within or across the different "zones of influence" of the capital.

The notion of zones of influence, which springs from a direct quote of the Plan Bidagor, is key to my understanding of Madrid as it developed under Franco. By seeing the city from above, we are able to envision it as a whole; that is, as one complete unit (body) made up of divisions (organs) that coexist to fulfill a function. As will be developed in this dissertation, that function rests on Madrid serving as capital of a unified nation-state, whose centralized structure is repeated on both a local and a national level. Thus emerges the paradoxical image of "Fortress Madrid," isolated in its singularity as capital, yet simultaneously the receptor of goods and people from the rest of the country. Furthermore, we must consider not only the relationship of Madrid to the rest of the country, but Madrid as its own entity, with its particular interior dynamic. As is revealed in the following pages, the Madrid of the 1940s and 50s is a city that is transformed by the regime into a panopticon in its own right, a carceral city whose deviance and vigilance is not limited to specific sites, institutions, or practices, but rather can be sensed and

transmitted throughout the whole of the urban landscape. The Bidagor map is but one representation of this holistic landscape of discipline; the novels and films that I study in this project provide glimpses into its other parts.

Due to the prevalence of movement in the texts I study, a central question of this project has to do with access. Migration, as is often the case after a war, was one of the defining social phenomena of the mid-twentieth century in Spain. As is well documented and remembered, during the 1960s, many Spanish workers left their homeland for the more prosperous industrial nations of northern Europe. This is the story of a prior stage, however, of an internal migration that began in the 1950s and reversed Spain's population from a predominantly rural one to the dominantly urban nation that it remains today. Much of the cultural production of the 1950s holds migration as a subtext, and the forces of migration are explicitly and implicitly present in the novels and films that I study here. More people means fewer available resources, and a government like Franco's, which was supremely attentive to resource management, controlled the access that its citizens had to its limited social and economic capital. Robert Davidson has stressed the term *interdiction* to describe "the practice by which nation-states control and manage [...] migrant and refugee flows" ("Prevention" 5). These "flows" encompass many aspects of the migrant experience, from physical movement between origin and destination, to the allocation of food, shelter, and, in many cases, jobs. Moreover, flows cannot be separated from the space and time in which they occur; space and time thus become additional resources that can be managed.

Access and interdiction are in constant tension, whether those who are denied access realize it or not. If the question "What is space?" is rather the question "How is it that different human practices create and make use of different conceptualizations of space?" (Harvey 275), then the struggles of access are a primary perspective through which to examine the experience

of a specific space. Not only do we deal with the physical spaces around us, but with our movements in and through them (Davidson's "flows"). As mentioned above, and to paraphrase Foucault, a guiding curiosity of this project has been to uncover how the disciplinary forces of the Franco regime trained the confused multitudes of postwar Spain into a multiplicity of individual elements. The notion of discipline is often thought of from a top-down perspective, in the sense that hegemonic forces impose their will on individuals, who have no choice but to succumb and comply. This type of determinism, however, puts too much emphasis on the actions and decisions of bureaucrats and officials, without considering actual movement and the real "struggles of access" that occur when individuals make their own decisions. Instead, I have focused this project not so much on the policies of discipline of the Franco state (though they inevitably appear throughout), but rather on the struggles of access as experienced by the people of Madrid, represented by the characters that appear in the novels and films of this study. That is to say that in my view, it is not solely the active disciplining of space that disciplines Madrid's citizens, but rather the experiences of space—and their resulting struggles of access—that lead to disciplined citizens.

Disparate experiences of space bring us to the spatial theories of Henri Lefebvre. His presence in a project on the construction of urban space will come as no surprise, since Lefebvre's theories have become *de rigueur* as a framework for thinking about these questions. His dictum that "(social) space is a (social) product" (*Production* 26) has led a wide array of scholars, from geographers to literary critiques, to consider a holistic vision of the physical, conceptual, and social aspects of the places that humans inhabit. The concept of a *production* of space has had remarkable influence because it leads the way toward considering three different conceptions of space: the physical space itself, what is said about it, and what is done with it.

These aspects of space are a simplification of a triad that Lefebvre terms *spatial practice*, *representations of space*, and *spaces of representation*.<sup>3</sup>

*Spatial practice*, or *perceived space*, refers to the production of material space by social relations. Spatial practice is what we perceive around us as we move around within material space, which remains a space produced through a process of experience. As Lefebvre states, “the spatial practice of a society *secretes* that society’s space; it *propounds* and *presupposes* it, in a dialectical interaction; it *produces* it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it” (*Production* 38). In the terms of this dissertation, spatial practice is the tactile and sensual interaction of Madrid’s residents with the environment around them. *Representations of space*, or *conceived space*, is the space of ideological representation, understood on an intellectual level by scientists, urbanists, technocrats, and social engineers. Representations of space are conceived in relation to physical space, but often their purpose is to alter that space. In my study, they include the official documents—such as the Plan Bidagor, housing laws, and official speeches—that define the regime’s conception of the space of Madrid. Finally, *spaces of representation*, or *lived space*, refers to the space of everyday life. This is “dominated” space, according to Lefebvre, “space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate” (*Production* 39). Here, spaces of representation are the texts—literary and filmic—that are produced by artists who interpret the perceived space around them and react to the official representations of space by creating new spaces in their novels and films. Therefore, I treat these spaces of representation on two levels: first, from the point of view of the artists, as creators of these representational spaces, and second, through the actions of the characters in the novels and films. Their usage of the material

---

<sup>3</sup> In the most common English edition of *The Production of Space* (Blackwell 1991), Donald Nicholson-Smith translates Lefebvre’s “les espaces de représentation” as “representational spaces.” I prefer “spaces of representation.”

space around them reveals the way that they can accept, reject, or alter the conceived spaces of official planning.

These three elements form the central figure of what Benjamin Fraser has called Lefebvre's "critique of static space" (*Lefebvre* 9). Space cannot be understood only by how it is conceived or perceived, but also by how it is lived. With the triad, Lefebvre highlights the distinction of the "planned city" and the "practiced city," but insists that one cannot be considered without the other. This reinforces the dialectical nature of urban space, in which "our mental ideas about the city influence its physical refashioning, which in turn influences our mental ideas and so on" (Fraser *Lefebvre* 8). The tension between physical space (spatial practice) and mental ideas about that space is crucial to another division that Lefebvre questions and that is especially pertinent to my study, that of "real" and "ideal" space:

What term should be used to describe the division which keeps the various types of space away from each other, so that physical space, mental space, and social space do not overlap? Distortion? Disjunction? Schism? Break? As a matter of fact the term used is far less important than the distance that separates "ideal" space, which has to do with mental (logico-mathematical) categories, from "real" space, which is the space of social practice. In actuality, each of these two kinds of space involves, underpins and presupposes the other. (*Production* 14)

In this context, the Plan Bidagor emerges as the preeminent "ideal" space that the regime prescribes for the city. This space exists prior to and in expectation of the "real" space that is created when citizens use the space according to its designation (i.e. industries go to industrial

zones, people look for relief in leisure zones, etc.). This evolution quickly runs into two distinct tensions, however. The first is that these zones, for the most part, were not empty when the plans were drawn. Therefore real space, produced through real usage, can easily precede the ideal space of the plans. As Lefebvre himself states above, the two kinds of space easily presuppose each other.

The second contradiction is less obvious but has guided my work throughout the project: “ideal” space is not the sole domain of planners, but of users as well. When individuals or collectives enter a space, they may or may not occupy the space for reasons that planners intended. There is no guarantee that the space will be manipulated and consumed in the way that it was designated, which is part of the process of creating the “real” space. However, just as influential on the eventual use of the space are the expectations that form part of the anticipated experience. Users therefore not only determine what real space might be, they hold an ideal space of their own. These expectations are crucial to the cultural production that I explore in this study, whether emerging from the characters of the novels and films that I examine, or from the artists who created these cultural objects that inevitably reveal their creators’ ideals.

As I have explored those objects and expectations, Lefebvre’s theories have expanded my conception of space, but I have necessarily turned to the ideas of other theorists to supplement (though never complete) that vision. My usage of each of these spatial, linguistic, and social theories is developed more fully in the chapters in which they are most relevant. For example, Gaston Bachelard has been useful in considering the emotional aspects of the intimate space of the home, especially in the way that these emotions can be revealed in cultural products of all forms. In a later chapter, an important distinction emerges that complements Lefebvre’s theories of space. This is a shift in perspective that can cause a “space” to become a “place,” and vice-

versa. These terms emerge from the work of Certeau, cited above, and also from that of humanist geographers such as Edward Relph and Yi-Fu Tuan. Because their analysis of space and place is based on human experience, the main distinction between the two concepts lies in precisely that: “place” can be defined as “experienced space,” or space with a memory. Furthermore, Tuan writes, “‘Space’ is more abstract than ‘place.’ What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value” (6).<sup>4</sup> To these two terms, I have added Marc Augé’s concept of “non-place.” Though Augé develops this concept in the context of what he terms *supermodernity*, I have been able to locate it in the unstable, budding economic modernity of Franco’s Spain, in which identity—in its most literal sense of that by which we identify ourselves to others, the identity on which our forms of identification are founded—could be manipulated to adapt to volatile postwar situations. Space, place, and non-place therefore help define the different types of spatial practices that create the Madrid present in the texts that I study.

The Plan Bidagor and other public policies are legal documents that create space as they conceive space, through the language they use and the definitions they establish. Language also plays an important role in this project because of rhetoric and its effects on expectations. For these questions, I turn to Pierre Bourdieu, especially in the context of language’s impact on legal matters. Bourdieu’s theories on language and power give us insight into the relationships that exist between social agents and the role that language plays in defining and maintaining those relationships. I am especially interested in what Bourdieu identifies as the production of

---

<sup>4</sup> This conceptualization is parallel to Michel de Certeau’s distinction between space and place. However, contrary to the geographers discussed here, Certeau switches the terms “space” and “place” while maintaining their significants: “A place (*lieu*) is the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence. [...] A space (*espace*) exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables” (117). Therefore, for Certeau, “space is a practiced place” (117). My usage of the terms will follow Relph’s and Tuan’s.

legitimate or authorized language, which reveals a speaker's linguistic and social capital. Our use of legitimate language establishes our social roles, though language can be manipulated in order to alter our positions during role-playing (insights into role-playing by the sociologist Erving Goffman also appear throughout this dissertation). In terms of space, the type of prescription that is involved in urban planning (i.e., establishing zoning to define how a space may be used), recognizes legitimate usage in much the same way that we recognize legitimate language: through the structures that separate and distinguish them as acceptable and appropriate. Legitimization, however, is in many ways a synonym for classification, and we shall perceive throughout the project an impulse to divide, catalog, and classify space and the people who pass through it.

Finally, any study of the disciplining of space would be remiss without some understanding of Michel Foucault. Though it seems that Foucault is in nearly everything that we as cultural critics do, which is fitting for a philosopher who helped define how a "microphysics" of power is able to penetrate into every aspect of our daily lives, it is impossible not to include him in an interrogation of how a model of urban citizen might be formed. If we can conceive of a subjectivity that is influenced by the space around it, we must understand how citizens would internalize a particular model that is projected by that very space. As I interpret it, that internalization is closely tied to how the sociologist Charles Taylor has defined social imaginary: "the ways people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations" (23). In postwar Spain, a change in social imaginary went hand-in-hand with a different valorization of both rural and urban spaces. The notion of a social imaginary that reflects how people imagine their social existence is



linked most closely to the “lived space” (*spaces of representation*) of Lefebvre’s triad because we are able to interpret a social imaginary in the cultural products of the society that produces it. As a student of culture, I consider few locations as compelling to the study of social interaction as the urban space that formed the administrative, industrial, and ideological center of the Franco regime.

As Spanish cultural studies have evolved in the twenty years since Graham and Labanyi edited their landmark volume, studies in the urban cultural geography of Spain have played an increasingly large role in the field. Because urban studies is such a strong interdisciplinary field that incorporates elements of architecture, public policy, sociology, history, and economics, among others, it is no surprise that cultural and literary critics have found much to examine within the urban context. Treating the “city-as-text” is certainly not a new methodological proposal, yet the possibilities are vast. Due to the variety of cities, time periods, and texts that can be studied, new volumes continue to be published every year.

Any genealogy of urban Spanish cultural studies, especially within the Anglo-American academy, can trace itself back to two pioneering figures, Joan Ramón Resina and Malcolm Alan Compitello, whose work on cities opened the field in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The theories of Lefebvre had considerable influence on both scholars, and, unsurprisingly, this tradition has been passed down to students and disciples that have followed in their footsteps. In *Iberian Cities* (2001) and *After-images of the City* (2003), Resina was among the first to advocate work in urban studies that integrated “theoretical output in urban semiology, space analysis, and urban mythography” (*Iberian* xi). *Iberian Cities*, as the title suggests, is about much more than Madrid. Resina and his fellow authors envisioned Iberia as a “macroregion” made up of a “matrix of related cultures and nations” (xxii). They did so precisely through an appeal to

culture, rather than to the policies of technocrats and bureaucrats. Within this matrix, Madrid emerges as a “capital created out of the will to centralize” (xiv). Resina’s essay in this volume underscores the “myth of capitality and the violence of centralism” that characterize Madrid’s legacy (and current position) within the Spanish nation. The process through which this centralism is reinforced —elsewhere, Resina calls this process “abstraction” (*Iberian* 64)— has been fundamental to my own understanding of Madrid in the early years of the Franco regime; indeed, “capitality” was one of the explicit goals of the planners whose representations of space sought to situate the city at the center of the Spanish social imaginary.

Compitello, co-founder of the *Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies* and co-editor along with Edward Baker of *Madrid, de Fortunata a la M-40: un siglo de cultura urbana* (2003), gave voice to many scholars who were interested in questions of space in the Spanish context. The *Fortunata* volume, dedicated to Madrid and covering an entire century, has been followed by work that has expanded the geographical and chronological scope of Spanish cultural studies. Michael Ugarte, another important scholar of Madrid, writes that Compitello and Baker helped to expand cultural studies and Hispanism, “through their attention not exclusively to literature and the Spanish language but to cultural expression and its ties to social and economic history” (74). Compitello’s application of cultural geographers in the tradition of Lefebvre, such as David Harvey and Manuel Castells, gave us models of how to treat the Spanish city.

The decade since the publication of Compitello’s and Resina’s volumes has witnessed the publication of a wide range of work by critics who have used the Lefebvrian tradition “to look at the narrative treatment of the city found, not merely in novels, but also in works of city planning and contemporary urban theory” (Fraser “Narrating” 370). These critics use a methodology that refuses to separate cultural production from the context in which it is produced, thereby “playing

literature and film off against their urban context, and vice versa, using the urban context to make sense of works of art” (Fraser “Thornbury”). This is perhaps what makes questions of space so important to this type of cultural critique, which attempts to read the social production of space in much the same way that it reads the social production of culture. In his volume from 2001, Resina stressed that the city, as a concept and as a place, was a “huge deposit of human experiences,” made up of “personal and collective, temporal and instantaneous, planned and coincidental, logical and ideological, logocentric and graphocentric, virtual and representative [...]” (*Iberian* xii). If ten years ago Resina was already “presupposing” that the city was a social form, that recognition has by now been internalized by a new generation of Hispanists whose work has continued to look at Spain through a Lefebvrian lens.

Among the most recent literature in the field, several scholars stand out as models for what I have aimed to accomplish in this project. Mentioned above, Benjamin Fraser has sought to give a complete picture of how the French theorist conceived of an urban space “that is better understood as a movement rather than a thing” (*Lefebvre* 1).<sup>5</sup> In his *Henri Lefebvre and the Spanish Urban Experience* (2011) and numerous articles, Fraser covers a broad assortment of Spanish space, history, and cultural production, as he examines the representations of Madrid, Barcelona, and the Mediterranean in sources ranging from nineteenth-century *artículos de costumbres* to twenty-first century video games. Likewise, in Nathan Richardson’s two book-length studies, *Postmodern Paletos: Immigration, Democracy, and Globalization in Spanish Narrative and Film, 1950-2000* (2002) and *Constructing Spain: The Re-imagination of Space and Place in Fiction and Film, 1953-2003* (2013), Lefebvre’s triumverate of space is of utmost

---

<sup>5</sup> Fraser acknowledges the presence of the French theorist in some Spanish cultural studies but claims to be the first to “apply Lefebvre’s perspective to the Spanish context at greater length” (*Lefebvre* 6). Fraser works with Compitello as the Managing Editor of *The Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies* and is the Executive Editor of the forthcoming *Journal of Urban Cultural Studies*.

importance to Richardson's interpretations of Spanish films and novels of the twentieth century, as are the extensions of Lefebvre's theories by urban geographers such as David Harvey and Edward Soja. From Harvey, Richardson borrows the concept of the "urbanization of consciousness," by which he refers to a shift in thinking that leads citizens to accept "the symbolic order of a city's spaces [that] impose upon us ways of thinking and doing which reinforce existing patterns of social life..." (Harvey, qtd. in Richardson *Constructing* 12).

Richardson sees this urbanization of consciousness as a process that extends over the second half of the twentieth century, a period that is also covered by Ann Davies in *Spanish Spaces: Landscape, Space and Place in Contemporary Spanish Culture* (2012). Davies questions the "desire of association" that binds citizens to Spain, or rather, to the idea of "Spain" or to any of its many parts. This association, she argues, uses landscape, space, and place to "bestow 'Spain' with meaning" (4). Her attempt to define Spain as a "constant cultural process of becoming" rejects any idea of static space, as Lefebvre does, and works towards an understanding of the subjective desires that attach a meaning to space. Finally, in *Jazz Age Barcelona* (2009), Robert Davidson uses Lefebvre's concept of spatial practice as a tool for interrogating urban space, journalism, and cultural codes and has served as a model for the type of concentrated, in-depth study to which I have aspired.

The scope of these studies is admirable, but they barely touch on or neglect entirely the specific period that forms the focus of my study.<sup>6</sup> Because of this, they ignore a political-economic paradigm—the authoritarian dictatorship—that has implications that fall outside the

---

<sup>6</sup> Fraser includes an analysis of Martín-Santos's *Tiempo de silencio* (1962). Richardson's *Constructing Spain* includes a sections dedicated to *¡Bienvenido, Mister Marshall!* (1953) and Buñuel's *Viridiana* (1961). His earlier work, *Postmodern Paletos*, begins with a chapter that analyzes *Surcos* (1951) and Jesús Fernández Santos's *Los bravos* (1954). These are the only analyses of works in the 1950s, and the majority of Richardson's studies are focused on Spanish cultural production after Franco's death in 1975, as is that of Davies. Davidson's project studies a period *before* the Spanish Civil War.

usual Lefebvrian model. All of these scholars have established a framework for considering the construction of space as a struggle between domination and appropriation. The control of space is an element of power, but space is not synonymous with power; it must be manipulated towards specific goals. By largely ignoring the 1940s and 50s, however, the aforementioned studies cannot account for a situation in which capitalism did not yet have free reign and the Falange maintained much ideological power in questions of urbanism, housing, and architecture. The domination of the state, which, through city planning, dedicates space to some abstract purpose, often conflicts with the use to which a city's inhabitants put that space. This conflict, evident in liberal capitalist systems in Lefebvre's analysis, takes on a new dimension under a totalitarian system such as Franco's; not only are market forces aligned with the state allowed to establish parameters that organize the space in their favor, but the state has an even more active part in controlling its citizens. My study adds to the understanding of the production of space in the twentieth century because it addresses a period prior to the domination of private capital that was encouraged as part of the economic modernization of the *Plan de Estabilización* of 1959.<sup>7</sup>

While I situate myself within the above critical tradition, this dissertation is innovative because its very specific temporal and spatial boundaries allow me to question how the production of a particular urban space resulted in the creation of a dynamic model of urban citizenship. Throughout this project, I examine how government controlled space—that is, how government policies first prescribed how space could be used and later enforced that vision—within a concrete and coherent policy such as that proposed by the Plan Bidagor. This focus

---

<sup>7</sup> Nil Santiáñez's very recent work, *Topographies of Fascism: Habitus, Space, and Writing in Twentieth-Century Spain* (2013), analyzes space from the perspective of fascist rhetoric and actions. In search of global fascism, his primary sources date from the 1910s-1950s. He also recognizes a shift beginning in the 1960s, after which "fascist attempts to transform space could not compete against capital" (13). His corpus differs significantly from mine, however, as he deals with literary fascism and I look to films and novels that expressed some disapproval of that ideology. Furthermore, his examples from after the Spanish Civil War are from outside of Spain, and there is therefore little spatial and temporal overlap between our projects.

could actually bring some question to the spatial theories of the Marxist Lefebvre, who considered space “not only crucial to capitalism but also to the contestation of capital” (Fraser *Lefebvre* 3). Just how useful his theories are to the Spanish dictatorial context of the 1940s and 50s is a question that underlies this dissertation.

Madrid in the 1940s and 50s was a city at the mercy of an ideological regime, but that regime was undergoing a particular identity crisis. As it tried first to rebuild, and then to build, its capital, the regime was at the apex of its “attempt to solve the crisis of the state by uncoupling economic modernization from cultural modernity and jettisoning the latter” (Graham and Labanyi 169). In other words, the question of how to build a modern reality through pre-modern politics is a dilemma whose effects can be traced in nearly every aspect of public and private life of the time. As part of this study, I take into consideration not only the policies that enacted this “uncoupling,” but also the cultural production that arose in response to it. At the same time, one can notice in the 1940s and 50s capitalism’s increased presence in Spain (beginning with small-time *estraperlo*, black market activity) and the influx of foreign influences once autarky was being left behind. Harvey’s “urbanization of consciousness” was in its preliminary stages, and therefore the regime, its urban planners, its rural and urban citizens, and its artists exhibit the contradictions that emerged as they were all beginning to undergo the process. The crisis of identity that reshaped the regime during the 1950s made it susceptible to criticism from points of view that ranged from unmistakable, though muted, opposition to the politically disaffected who were disappointed with how the regime was shifting. The range of ideologies represented by the producers of the cultural products included in my corpus —Cela and Nieves Conde on the right, Bardem, Saura, and Fernán Gómez on the left— reveal a suspicion of the oncoming commercialism that crosses ideological lines and produces reactions that are based on nostalgia

and on parody. This mix is one of the strengths of this study, a view of government policies that voiced fascist interests, but literary and filmic texts that expressed dissatisfaction with the product of those policies. By exploring how the dictatorship treated its most central (and centralized) city and how novelists, screenwriters, directors, and censors reacted to that treatment, this project adds depth to and complements recent trends in urban Spanish cultural studies.

The shift in social imaginary that I have referred to is a development that I observe in the 1950s. The novels and films that I study in the following chapters were all published or released during that decade, and it is with the 1950s in mind that I have written most of the project. It is well recognized within Spanish historiography that the middle decade of the twentieth century is more difficult to define than simply as a ten-year period extending from 1950 to 1960. As the historian Manuel Redero San Román has observed in his survey of Francoist historiography, the definition of “the 1950s” depends on who is doing the periodization.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, the decade is relatively under-studied when compared to the 1940s and the 1960s.<sup>9</sup> This lack of attention is due to the relative stability of the decade of the 1950s, when compared to the hunger, repression, and rebuilding of the 1940s or the consumerist and touristic boom of the 1960s. This does not mean, however, that the 1950s was a decade in which Spain stopped changing on a national and international level.

---

<sup>8</sup> Redero San Román writes, “La década de los cincuenta no se aborda en este estudio como el mero tracto histórico que discurre temporalmente desde 1950 a 1960, sino como un tiempo de la dictadura franquista que es observado desde una perspectiva conceptual, que presenta unos límites que no están previamente establecidos y al que supone que le definen unas características que pueden conferirle una personalidad diferente a la que tendrían los períodos anterior y posterior” (415).

<sup>9</sup> On the subject of the under-representation of the 1950s, Redero San Román concludes that, “no parece poder rebatirse con facilidad la idea de que dicha década ha recibido hasta el presente un menor impulso investigador que las de los años cuarenta y sesenta” (417).

Historians have often divided the thirty-six-year reign of the authoritarian dictatorship led by Francisco Franco into two political periods, each of them marked by internal divisions and tensions within the regime. “Early Francoism” (1939-57) begins with the end of fighting in the Civil War and includes the autarky of the 1940s, when Spain was isolated from the rest of the world due to international pressures as well as the regime’s own desire to create a self-sufficient nation in order to legitimize itself before its citizens. Autarky was a failed project, however, and the 1940s are still considered the “Years of Hunger” due to the severe hardships, rationing, and material sacrifices endured in both cities and rural areas. After a reshuffling of government officials in 1951, two important events, both in 1953, signified the end of autarky and the reinsertion of Spain into the international community: the Concordat with the Holy See, which confirmed the regime’s legitimacy in the Catholic world, and the agreement with the United States to exchange military and economic assistance for the permission to build American military bases in Spain. This agreement provided some relief for Spain’s economy and showed recognition of Franco’s government by a world power, a sentiment consolidated by Spain’s admittance to the United Nations in 1955.

The reforms of 1951 proved to be insufficient, however, and in 1957 a new cabinet was named. The appointment of this cabinet marks the transition to the later period of the regime, the “*desarrollo* years,” which would last until the dictator’s death in 1975. The new government was headed by Opus Dei technocrats, whose economic policies, beginning with the 1959 *Plan de Estabilización*, helped lead to the “Spanish miracle” of the 1960s, in which the Spanish economy grew extremely quickly and shifted from an economy based on agriculture to one run by industry and services, especially tourism. Policy under this government was guided by the principles of *apertura*, meant to liberalize the economy while maintaining a strict hold on cultural and



political rights. Therefore, during the “boom,” Spain was officially no closer to a democracy than it had been at any time since before the war. However, Spain’s modernization resulted in mass migration, urbanization, a growing middle class, and increased consumerism. Paradoxically, these advances of modernity opened the way for social and political protest, increasing tensions within Spain that continued until Franco’s death and laying the foundation for the post-Franco Transition.

Caught between these two economic situations, therefore, the 1950s represents a moment of transition for the Franco regime, as it had to deal with the fact that much of the economic modernization of the period no longer fit into the traditionalist view of past and empire that it had used to legitimize itself directly after the Civil War. As a result, the regime underwent a crisis of legitimacy in which it had to essentially rebrand itself, including several reorganizations of cabinet members that reflected the shifting dynamics of power within the government. The ethical and moral values of National Catholicism continued to guide behavior among citizens, but in order to maintain its control over a state-run modernization, the regime’s policies now had to look to the future, rather than to glories of the past.

The evolution from autarky towards modernization that characterized the economic and political spheres in the 1950s and early 60s was paralleled by changing attitudes in film and literature, marked—in some circles—by a movement away from the escapism of the immediate postwar period and towards a more realist artistic aesthetic. In literature, the recuperation of the Spanish realist tradition came about in the form of the *novela social*, written by a new generation of authors, mostly from families on the victorious side of the Civil War, who began to devote their literature to exploring the problems of rural poverty and migration, working-class oppression and urban deprivation, and social marginalization.

One of the principal influences on the *novela social* was Italian neo-realist cinema of the 1940s, which also had an enormous influence on the cinema of Spain in the 1950s. The Instituto de Investigaciones y Experiencias Cinematográficas (IIEC), established in 1947, became the “seed of renovation” (as Carlos Heredero has termed it) in which a new generation of filmmakers (among them Luis García Berlanga, Juan Antonio Bardem, and Carlos Saura) learned the skills necessary to enter the conservative and controlled Spanish film industry with a new attitude. The complicated political situation of the period often resulted in alliances and compromises among those involved in the various stages of film production, making it virtually impossible for a truly vocal opposition to arise in the cinema. Instead, the filmmakers turned to a sharper reflection of Spanish reality, a cinema dealing with similar social problems as the *novel social*: once again, migration, urban conditions, class conflicts, and housing shortages. The forced collaborations of the film industry and the spirit of renovation of the new generation of filmmakers was nowhere more evident than in the 1955 *Conversaciones de Salamanca*, whose organizers famously pronounced that “El problema del cine español es que no tiene problemas, que no es ese testigo que nuestro tiempo exige a toda creación humana” (Nieto Ferrando and Company Ramón 283). This has been one of the most contested declarations of Spanish film history, and one of the premises of this dissertation is to show that there indeed were problems that were brought to the front of this period’s cultural production. In fact, several of the films discussed in this project carried claims (often proposed by government officials and censors) that their theme was the most important problem of all. For example, a superimposed notice at the beginning of *Surcos* (1951) claimed that rural-to-urban migration was the “más doloroso problema de nuestro tiempo,” while a similar notice after the credits of *El inquilino* (1957) stated that the housing problem was the “más universal de los problemas de nuestro tiempo.” Both films were directed

by José Antonio Nieves Conde, whose standing as an old-guard member of the Falange will be discussed in later chapters.

This concern with “everyday life” was closer to Italian neorealism than to the historical epics and evasive films of the 1940s, which were also still being produced in the fifties. The adaptation of the Italian neorealist ethical standpoint to a more Spanish context was achieved by integrating new mixtures of neorealism with other genres (often Hollywood genres, such as film noir, or genres from the Spanish literary tradition such as melodrama and black humor) that better reflected ideas of “Spanishness” (as Marsha Kinder refers to them, though this term hints at an essentialism that I try to avoid) and were often more palpable to government censors while still able to provide a critical message to their limited audiences.

Because of the shared thematic and technical similarities that characterize film and novel in this period, I study both of them simultaneously. While each chapter deals with only one type of artistic medium, the overall project reveals many of the same concerns arising in both. That is not to say that one was the adaptation of the other; rather, they influenced each other.<sup>10</sup> As I stated above, these novels and films have long been included in the postwar canon, and all of them take place in or around the city of Madrid and were produced by authors and filmmakers that lived in Spain under the dictatorship. Madrid looms large in all of these texts —as setting, place of production, and as point of reference.

The particular issues that are exposed and addressed by these films and novels are a symptom of their association with Madrid. The pull of the city’s gravity, due to the weight of its *capitalidad* (as the Plan Bidagor had overtly stated), gives shape to these texts. While these are certainly not the only texts that deal with the capital, these novels and films stand out as a unified

---

<sup>10</sup> For example, Carlos Saura recognized a fight scene in his *Los golfos* as an homage to Sánchez Ferlosio’s *El Jarama* that was originally planned independently from the rest of the film (Brasó 69).

corpus because they deal with the problems that affected the everyday lives of Madrid's inhabitants: hunger, political persecution, housing, consumerist pressures, migration, and overpopulation. Though they emerge from different ideological viewpoints, these cultural objects propose an urban citizen that is encouraged to consume but that does not have the power of complaint when things do not go his or her way. The characters in these works feel frustration because their experience does not live up to their expectations, but they are unable to do anything about it. Thus, from the citizens' perspective, a conflict emerges between the desire for modern comforts and a nostalgia for a "simpler" way of life.

Though all the works studied in this dissertation were either produced or published during the 1950s, I have organized the project spatially instead of chronologically. I base my topographical model on the segmentational zoning of the Plan Bidagor, which viewed Madrid and its *zona de influencia* as a series of concentric circles.<sup>11</sup> Thus, the dissertation moves from the inner core of the city center towards its outskirts, and each chapter focuses on a different aspect of its urban fabric: its homes, its streets, its industrial zones and shantytowns, and its leisure space. The Plan Bidagor claimed that in order to best promote the city's "economy, comfort, and order," each of its functions had to be separated into distinct zones. Its section titled "Zonificación" defined five different types of zones as the most important: *zonas especiales*, *zonas comerciales*, *zonas residenciales*, *zonas verdes*, and *zonas industriales*.<sup>12</sup> These zones

---

<sup>11</sup> As Resina notes, the concentric circles of Madrid have continued to grow over the last fifty years, and the city's zone of influence has reached across Spain, "depopulating most of the Castilian plateau and sponging population from underdeveloped areas long integrated into the Castilian political structure: Galicia, Extremadura, and Andalusia" (*Iberian* xiv). This expansion does not form a direct part of this project, though it is already present in the migration of the 1950s.

<sup>12</sup> These zones can be translated as: special zones, commercial zones, residential zones, green zones, and industrial zones. By "special zones," the planners meant the areas that were most closely tied to the government and its public administration, such as monuments, administrative buildings, schools, sanitation, and military activities. These spaces are implicit in many of my following readings, but, as opposed to the four other zones, there is no explicit examination of the "special zones" in this project.

were not solid blocks of land, but wove through and around the city in “un conjunto de recintos de diferente superficie y muchas veces con matices diversos” (“Plan General” IV.41). However, all of them were linked within the Plan to a vertical organization typical of the fascist worldview and treated as organs within the functioning system of the city.

This topographical organization causes some inevitable overlap and leaps in chronology, because the action of the texts I study occurs at different moments in the decade of the fifties, or, in the case of Cela’s *La colmena*, squarely in the early 1940s. The scrambled chronology is perhaps unusual in a project of this type, but a spatial organization seems fitting. Both time and space have proven to be somewhat blurry throughout the project. In temporal terms, we can already anticipate in the texts of the 1940s, and especially of the 1950s, many of the consumer tendencies that would boom during the economic expansion of the 1960s. On the other hand, there are traces of policies, decisions, and projects from the 1940s that necessarily remain influential in the 1950s. In fact, much of the way space was treated under the regime has had a lasting effect on land policy, so that its impact can still be sensed today in the urbanization laws that define housing and construction and have had such a significant role in the economic crisis in which present-day Spain finds itself. In spatial terms, the lines between different planned zones could not be maintained at ground level. Usage of space necessarily crosses the lines of urban planners, and the protagonists of these texts must move within or across the different zones of the city while they negotiate a transition from one historical model to another.

My first chapter, “Home Life: Domestic Struggles in Comedic Film,” deals with the most intimate human space, the home. The disciplining of domestic space, in physical, social, and economic terms, was integral to the process of creating a new model of urban citizen within the burgeoning economic modernity of the 1950s. In Madrid, home ownership became a powerful

tool of control and of homogenization, as new arrivals and established residents alike were encouraged to buy a home, even when very few could afford it. Much of what emerges in this chapter will resonate with anyone who is aware of the present predicament of Spain following the construction bubble of the 2000s. In the low-quality, unaffordable, profit-driven construction of the *problema de la vivienda* of the 1950s, we see many of the same issues that affect potential homebuyers today. Under Franco, the home became a place that could be used to integrate citizens into the national project, thereby blurring the lines between public and private space. However, the discrepancy between expectations and reality creates an anxiety that became material for some of the most critically acclaimed cultural products of the decade. Four films, *Esa pareja feliz* (dir. Juan Antonio Bardem and Luis García Berlanga, 1951), *El inquilino* (dir. José Antonio Nieves Conde, 1957), *La vida por delante* (dir. Fernando Fernán Gómez, 1958), and *El pisito* (dir. Marco Ferreri, 1959) highlight the problems caused by a growing population, a lack of housing, and real-estate speculation. In each of these films, “la vida moderna” intersects with new modes of construction to create a model of urban citizenry that paradoxically separated families into their own, personal homes, yet broke down the barriers between external (public) and internal (private) spaces.

The tension between public and private space continues as I move from the interior space of the home to the public streets of the city center. In Chapter Two, “A Wandering Man: Fragmentation and Discipline in *La colmena*,” I examine Camilo José Cela’s novel (1951), generally considered a precursor to the *novela social*. This novel is also usually thought of as the quintessential *novela colectiva*, with a multitude of characters and no clear protagonist. However, when reading the novel, one realizes that no collective bodies of citizens, no crowds, ever actually appear in it. This breakdown in the collective, I argue, is a reflection of the

breakdown of the collective through fragmentation and separation, just as the urban planners proposed when establishing segmentational zoning as a way to transform the city politically. Fragmentation and the weakening of the collective appear in all my chapters, and Chapter Two can be considered a flashback to a period, the 1940s, that set the stage for the physical transformations of the 1950s. Nevertheless, a natural by-product of all fragmentation are the gaps that appear between the segments. It is within these gaps that we find one of the main characters of Cela's novel, Martín Marco, who must continuously wander through the streets, plazas, and other public spaces of Madrid because he has no proper home or place of work. As he is unable to occupy any "productive space," this character is out of place within Franco's Spain. Yet, at the same time, he is compelled to establish his role in society while remaining on the margins. Through him, we see the possibilities of manipulating and sometimes evading the disciplinary structure whose fragmentation leaves gaps behind.

According to the Plan Bidagor, industrial zoning was its most urgent priority. The transformation of Madrid into an industrial center to match the cities of Catalonia and the Basque Country brought with it questions of how to best organize city space so that industrial and residential zones could coexist while not interfering with each other. Chapter Three, "No Limits! The City in *Surcos* and *Los golfos*" focuses on the demographic transformation caused by the vast rural-to-urban migration that affected Spain beginning in the 1950s. By exploring the relationship between social imaginary and physical space, I argue that this migration was part of a larger shift in social and spatial values that now prioritized the center over the periphery. At this center, we find a model of urban citizenship that complements the one identified in earlier chapters: one that values individualism and consumerism over the traditional solidarity of the earliest rhetoric of the regime, which heavily favored rural Spain. Madrid, which began its time

as capital of Franco's Spain as a place that had to be purged of its sins, became crucial to the hierarchical, centralized control of the nation, and thus was prioritized over the countryside and provincial capitals. In order to augment what the Plan Bidagor had termed the city's *capitalidad*, Madrid had to occupy a more solid position within the national consciousness. However, the segmented, ordered space of the urban planning was quickly overwhelmed by the number of arriving migrants, who appropriated available space as well as they could, either in crowded lodgings in the city center or makeshift shantytowns in its outskirts. The displaced rural population thus moved from the periphery of the nation to the periphery of the capital, never altering its marginal status. Two films from opposite ends of the decade and of the political spectrum, José Antonio Nieves Conde's *Surcos* (1951) and Carlos Saura's *Los golfos* (1959), highlight the plight of both recent and more-established migrants to Madrid. The methods that the characters in these films use to gain access to the center of Spanish social imaginary (i.e., crime and spectacle) are doomed to failure because they are inherently marginal activities. These efforts, based on traditional social networks, were anachronistic in a society that was rapidly moving towards economic modernization. This chapter explores how the spaces in which these characters move interpellate them into a model of urban citizenship that draws them into the center of the city yet simultaneously pushes them towards its outskirts.

My fourth and final chapter, "'Ya se aburren de tanta capital': Leisure, Language, and Law in *El Jarama*," builds on the previous chapters by extending the geographical limits of the city while maintaining questions of expectation and distinction. Here, distinction does not have as much to do with political fragmentation or division as it does with a perceived distance between agents as they perform their social roles. This chapter deals with the outer limits of the Plan Bidagor's *zona de influencia*, the space that was defined as "green zones" for leisure and that



offered the possibility of escape from the city. Though many of these areas were appropriated by migrants and turned into shantytowns, in this chapter I focus on this space when it was used as it was intended, as a space for expansion and relief. The relationship between city and country in this sense runs counter to that of the migration mentioned in earlier chapters. Rather than an invasion of the rural society into the city, in this case I examine the city's reaching out to the countryside in an attempt to get away from itself. The relief that is promised once again results in frustrated expectations, because those who go to the countryside in search of leisure can only comprehend their experience in the terms of the city. I understand these terms physically, legally, and linguistically, through an interpretation of Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio's novel *El Jarama* (1956). Sánchez Ferlosio expresses the attitudes of a group of tourists from the city, their local observers, and a judicial team through a mix of dialogue and description that has brought *El Jarama* recognition as the quintessential *novela social* of the 1950s. Based on that language, I propose a relationship among leisure space, language, and law: in order to be considered legitimate, all three depend on a standardization that leads to a distinction between the formal and the informal. In spatial terms, this distinction can be thought of as the separation between productive (urban, in this case) space and leisure (rural) space. Through this relationship, I interrogate the discipline that reaches the farthest sectors of Madrid's zone of influence. Sánchez Ferlosio's novel reveals the ways in which society approaches all three fields with preconceived expectations that are essential for their perpetuation as social constructs. Once again, expectations hold the key to understanding our interaction with space and the frustration that results when those expectations are not met. As in previous chapters, these frustrations lead to a nostalgia that rejects the modernization that was developing during the decade but that could not be reversed.

During the autarkic project of the 1940s, Madrid was treated in a way that was strikingly similar to the way the nation as a whole was viewed. “Fortress Madrid” was the seat of power, and power was maintained by isolating the capital from the rest of the nation. However, just as the regime itself was adapting to the shifting international scene after World War II, urban areas of Spain were moving to the center of the social imaginary. This study focuses on how that estimation transformed Madrid during the decade of the 1950s and how that transformation shaped official and popular discourse. From Cela’s “hive” allegory to Saura’s opportunistic young “hooligans,” the city remained a place where the collective and the individual were in constant tension. The contradictions that arise from that tension make the city the site of negotiations, adaptations, and compromises. It is largely considered that the 36-year duration of Franco’s regime was due to its adaptability to both internal and external factors. Often, however, the administrative policies that served to attract citizens to the center of the country—that is, Madrid—led to forces that pushed these same citizens to the periphery (in terms of margins and empty spaces) of the city. Because of these forces, Madrid’s citizens were also compelled to adapt. This project is an inquiry into those adaptations, during a period of transition that would prepare the country and the regime for the economic boom of the 60s and the eventual end of the Franco dictatorship.

By considering the interpretation of space in political, literary, and cinematic cultural products, this study uncovers tendencies and patterns that simultaneously defined and were defined by the urban experience. The dynamic that results from spatial and textual formations of subjectivity may serve to deepen our understanding of the paradigm of dictatorship that held a particular control of the nation’s space. A regime’s control of space may be one of many options that it can use to discipline its populace, and that spatial control can be exercised in many ways.

This dissertation offers insight into a particular moment in peninsular history that has been regularly overlooked and that is quickly receding farther into the past. That insight, however, is not limited only to the period defined by the production of the following laws and texts, but continues to have repercussions in the present. The current economic crisis in Spain, of which housing and construction have been determining factors, suggests that the disciplining of space sixty years ago is still pertinent to our present reality.

## 1. Home Life: Domestic Struggles in Comedic Film

*Les pido caridad con mi persona,  
procúrenme algún piso, por favor,  
no importa que le falte el 'No funciona'  
lo cual quiere decir el ascensor.*  
—“Busco un piso,” foxtrot by Alberto Brull (1946)

In the initial scene of *La vida por delante* (dir. Fernando Fernán Gómez, 1958), the protagonist couple, Antonio and Josefina, wanders around their apartment while they argue over how their professional demands leave them no time alone. In a reversal of gender stereotypes, Antonio is the one who is upset that Josefina works too much while he stays at home with the housemaid. During the argument, the couple stops in front of an open window. This window does not look out onto one of the streets of Madrid, but rather across an interior light shaft and into an identical living room in another apartment. In that room sits a neighbor, well within visual and listening range of the couple's argument. After trying to ignore the couple for a moment, the neighbor interrupts them: “Les advierto a ustedes que en la vida moderna, tanto da que trabaje el marido como la mujer. No hay que ponerse así. Además, ¿no ha estudiado cada uno de ustedes una carrera? Pues para algo habrá sido, digo yo. Y ustedes perdonen que me meta donde no me importa, pero son cosas de la arquitectura.” In this brief comedic interjection, the neighbor touches on issues of consumption anxiety, gender, privacy, and construction practices, all themes that evolved in the 1950s as Spain adjusted to an increasingly rapid economic modernity.

*La vida por delante*, along with three other classic Spanish films, —*Esa pareja feliz* (dir. Juan Antonio Bardem and Luis García Berlanga, 1951), *El inquilino* (dir. José Antonio Nieves Conde, 1957), and *El pisito* (dir. Marco Ferreri, 1959)— are among those films of the 1950s and

60s that took as their main theme the *problema de la vivienda*, the housing problem. As commonly understood, this “problem” could be summarized as the shortage of housing that affected Spanish cities beginning in the 1950s, when a massive movement of rural migrants caused overcrowding in city centers and the spontaneous growth of shantytowns in outskirts.<sup>1</sup> This issue was so prominent in public discourse that the censors of *El inquilino* felt comfortable calling housing “el más universal de los problemas de nuestro tiempo” in a notice that was superimposed after the film’s opening credits.<sup>2</sup> As the 1950s advanced and the country continued to recover from the war, the Franco regime began to address the housing problem by encouraging home ownership as part of man’s *destino social* (social destiny), and positioning private property as the “basis of our civilization.” While the housing shortage was definitely real, it is my intention in this chapter to show the *problema de la vivienda* arose not only because of the shortage, but because of the pressures that came about as families tried to live up to their social destiny within the parameters with which Antonio and Josefina’s neighbor tried to calm them. In other words, as the inclusion of home ownership in social destiny elevated the home to the level of an unattainable ideal, the pursuit of this ideal shaped practices and conceptions of *la vida moderna* and *cosas de la arquitectura* within domestic space.

In this sense, the real *problema de la vivienda* was not just about a lack of housing, but a lack of housing that met the expectations created when citizens were told that owning their own home was their destiny. The gap between expectation and reality left many unable to fulfill that destiny and therefore on the margins of a national vision that encouraged homeownership.

---

<sup>1</sup> I will discuss this migration in more detail in Chapter Three.

<sup>2</sup> The full note reads: “El problema de la vivienda es el más universal de los problemas de nuestro tiempo. La sociedad tiene el deber de sentirlo solidariamente, y no confiar, exclusivamente, en el Estado, quien, justo es reconocerlo, trata por todos los medios de resolver o aminorar tan grave problema. Esta película intenta sacar simbólicamente a la luz pública alguno de los fallos de la moderna sociedad en torno a este ingente hecho que tanto preocupa a nuestro Estado y a todos los hombres de buena voluntad.”

Though these are satirical films in which the protagonists' ineptitude is often the source of laughter, their real criticism lies in their protagonists' inability to overcome the barriers created by the economic structure that dominated private housing in the decade. As such, the films question the disparity between what was promoted by the public vision of what home ownership meant and the reality of the difficulties that kept the satisfaction of actually owning a home well beyond the reach of the average middle-class citizen. In this way, the films create a relationship between their implied viewer and the urban citizen who would become a resident in the emerging architectural models that the films were exposing. In order for the protagonists—and the residents—to achieve their *destino social* of owning a controlled, secure home for their families, they had to either accept the prospect of moving to new housing developments on Madrid's outskirts, or find alternative, often ludicrous (and therefore comedic) methods of remaining in its center. Both situations would have an extensive impact on the level of privacy enjoyed within the home.

This chapter deals with the interplay between these domestic expectations and the very issues that arise in the neighbor's intervention in *La vida por delante*. Though coming a few years prior to the "Spanish Miracle," these films already begin to show all the elements that would characterize the consumerist culture hinted at in the neighbor's mention of the *vida moderna*. In Franco's Spain, modernity was often considered a threat. An economic modernity—if not always a social one—appears in these films in the form of the couples' activities and attitudes, but also in the aspirations that guide them and in the physical objects that come to surround them and fill the space that they inhabit. The *vida moderna* is evident as part of a still-nascent consumer culture in Spain, coming after the period of autarky and postwar recovery of the 1940s, but not yet in the economic boom of the 1960s. The unease with which much of

society received this modern life, however, is present in the films as a source of comedy, in which new technology and services failed to live up to their expected and desired benefits. As a reaction, the films are given to nostalgia, for they are unwilling or unable to embrace a consumer culture that was still finding its way out of the scarcity of the postwar.

Furthermore, a greater demand for housing opened up ample room for a housing industry that built new architectural models designed to maximize efficiency in space and time of construction. For the construction companies, this meant huge profits; for the young homebuyers, the results were *cosas de la arquitectura* that had a huge influence on privacy, comfort, and the quality of the services and materials that formed part of their newly acquired and much-desired homes. It is indeed the “architecture’s fault” that the neighbor in *La vida por delante* take part in Antonio and Josefina’s argument, for the real estate developers who were building new residences in this period based their models on space-saving (and therefore cost-saving) configurations that piled urban dwellers into living situations with very little privacy. His appearance in a private moment breaks one of the basic tenets of home ownership: the boundary between what is inside and what is outside one’s home. Research into the meaning of the home “repeatedly throws up the same basic terms: privacy, security, family, intimacy, comfort, and control” (Putnam, qtd. in Morley 24). These films show that the developments in housing in the 1950s—in terms of architectural practices, real estate development, and public housing policies—directly lead to a lack of intimacy and control that would create a source of frustration for their protagonist couples.

The four films that I have chosen to study in this chapter are similar in structure and in theme, a reflection of the prevalence of housing concerns in the popular imagination. All four focus on a young, working- or middle-class couple and the tensions that arise in their

relationships due to their economic and social situation. In this chapter, I define “domestic space” according to the portrayal of the homes that belong to or are sought after by the couples in these films: apartments in Madrid. These homes are either bought or rented as complete units or sublet as individual rooms in larger apartments. In each film, the search for decent housing leads the protagonists to travel throughout the urban landscape, including the farthest reaches of its outlying housing developments. These are urban films that illustrate both the attraction and the difficulty of remaining in the city center, yet also reveal how the city and the home are barely separated and the boundary between residential and collective spaces —between private and public— tends to “dissolve” (Marcus 3). As we shall see, the city-home dynamic evolved during the decade of the 1950s, paralleling developments in urban policy and planning that affected the physical structure of the apartment buildings and the arrangement of the families that inhabit them.

The tension between private and public is relevant to the Francoist period because the regime was able to use the home as a space for integrating its citizens into its national project. Pushing the idea of home ownership as social destiny puts what is usually thought of as a private space into a much more public realm, as the home now has a role to play in reaching collective goals. The 1958 *Ley de Principios del Movimiento Nacional Español*, as close to a Constitution as Franco ever got, declared that, “La comunidad nacional se funda en el hombre como portador de valores eternos, y en la familia, como base de la vida social [...]” (Declaración V). Man and family were at the base of civilization, but, when translating those values to the domestic sphere, the regime undertook a paradoxical intervention, as Helen Graham has observed: “On the one hand, [the regime] had sought to make a rigid division between public and private, closing down society [by] promoting its ‘privatization’ or ‘atomization’ based on the ‘haven’ of the private



household at whose center was the ‘mother.’ [...] But, to ensure this outcome, the state could not really afford to let the private sphere remain entirely ‘private’” (186). In essence, the home became the center point of contradictory forces, some pushing people into their private dwellings so that they could not interact with others in collective, horizontal solidarity (Graham 184), and others that were knocking down the walls that separated them so that they could never be completely left alone (and therefore, unwatched).

Still, isolation is a complex subject by the 1950s, because the autarkic project of the 1940s was by now understood as a failure. National isolation had not worked, yet the individual home could still be pushed as the ideal living situation. When overcrowding due to immigration created *subbarriendo* and *chabolismo* that were intolerable to the regime, it had to refocus the ideal. The individual household was a natural source of balance and stability, not only for those who lived in the homes, but also for the society that they comprised. People want to own their own home because they want the feeling of proprietorship and control. However, the regime could only let that sense of individual control go so far. The isolation that is promised is never as complete as is promised. Structural elements prove to be as definitive as social relations when determining the privacy of a private that is not so private.

Within this context, these four films create an implied viewer that is closely aligned with an ideal resident that would come to occupy the new domestic spaces. The films engage the vertical and horizontal axes of built space, which allows them to explore how privacy was being affected by some walls going up and others coming down. Furthermore, the films themselves, by presenting everyday situations to everyday audiences, were instrumental in exposing the process of a breakdown in privacy. The architectural changes marked by the new, immense buildings

created a type of resident, one who was expected to accept the new arrangements as a condition of *la vida moderna*.

Largely due to these shifts between private and public space, the four protagonist couples are never able to settle down. While home ownership —*una vivienda propia*— was promoted in official channels as the key to a family's well-being, or even the foundation of contemporary man's *destino social*, these films show that political and economic structures kept young couples from fulfilling that destiny. When the traditional social model of a man, a woman, children, and a home was placed into a changing contemporary reality, the limited options for negotiating unfamiliar urban spaces could leave citizens confused and disillusioned. For this reason, it is surprising to note that even these films, which continue to be considered among the most “dissident” productions of the period, view the emerging modernity with skepticism and mockery. Rather than excitement for the changing technology and the arrival of foreign products, they often look to the past with nostalgia. In this way, they may not have been as far away from official films as they are often considered. Instead of glorifying the advances of economic modernization, these films showed that it also brought exceptional challenges. The *vida moderna*, which was reorganizing families into unfamiliar *cosas de la arquitectura*, added another layer to the new model of urban citizen that was arising in the nineteen fifties.

### The Housing Problem

The desire for domestic comfort and stability is not an uncommon wish at any time, but in the context of 1950s Spain, housing took on extra symbolic weight for a population that had suffered the destruction and displacement of war, and that had undertaken a voluntary migration

to the larger cities in search of better economic opportunities. Furthermore, the pressures of acquiring a home within a limited housing supply were compounded by the expectations of doing so. These expectations, I argue, were magnified by both official discourse and, paradoxically, by films such as these, which reinforced the expectations while supposedly mocking them. Gaston Bachelard succinctly describes these expectations of home ownership when he addresses what he calls the *dream house*, the house of the future. While most of Bachelard's *The Poetics of Space* is dedicated to the house of the past, as recreated in the memories of poets, when he writes of the house of the future, it is of something just out of reach and always unrealized, for the realized house ceases to be a dream house. This dream house may be "merely a dream of ownership, the embodiment of everything that is considered convenient, comfortable, healthy, sound, desirable, *by other people*" (61, emphasis added). So many of our expectations are created by the context in which we live, and in what we see as desired by those around us. The *vivienda* films in this chapter all reflect this to different degrees, but in each of them the protagonists never seem to be released of the pressures of success until they turn inward, away from the expectations of other people.

When we consider *destino social* as the main motivator for home ownership, we must recognize it as a basic tactic for converting the domestic realm into a disciplinary space. By elevating expectations of consumerism and ownership, a capitalist discipline joined the authoritarian system of surveillance as a way of "encouraging" civic conformity. People care for the property they own, and, as John Hooper points out, mortgage payments that give citizens a stake in the prosperity and stability of their society are an excellent deterrent to labor strikes (273). Thus, by encouraging property ownership, in addition to consumerism in general, the regime could create a model of urban citizen who was more interested in obtaining happiness

through material objects than through the possible security of political and social rights.

Discipline, in this sense, comes down to appealing to pride and reason, which Bachelard called “two irreconcilable terms” (61), for by pushing people toward unachievable goals, they become more conformist. The dream home, always just out of reach, like the carrot that leads the donkey cart, keeps people focused on one goal, without time for much else. Thus, not only does the quest for housing control *where* people are, but also *how* people are.

Furthermore, making housing part of public policy opened up the possibility of controlling who had access to what little new housing was built. This was especially true of so-called *vivienda social*, “vivienda mínima pero adecuada a familias de rentas reducidas que no pueden acceder a las viviendas de mercado” (López Díaz 299). For example, the Fundación Mariano Lanuza built a housing project along the Carretera de Extremadura, on Madrid’s western edge. This foundation was formed with the expressed intention of building low-budget housing for “working Christian” families. The requirements for receiving a unit included proof of not having any criminal history but having a solid “moral, religious, and patriotic” reputation. In order to prove this reputation, applicants had to include baptism and marriage certificates, and a letter from a local parish that vouched for an individual’s upstanding morals (López Díaz 324). In this way, the quest for housing took on further political implications because it defined the “ideal” resident. A home, they were told, was man’s destiny, but only certain types of people could even qualify to attempt to reach that goal.

In Madrid, controlling where people were took on increased importance in the postwar because of the uneasy peace of the 1940s and the massive migration of the 1950s. At the end of the war, the government was faced with two pressing needs in terms of housing: rebuilding the sections of the city that had been destroyed during the conflict, and integrating the surrounding

suburbs so that they could accept their part of the massive rural immigration that was arriving in the capital (Brandis 211). The Instituto Nacional de Vivienda (INV) was founded in 1939, along with a Junta de Reconstrucción, which put together the *Plan General de Ordenación de Madrid*, the Plan Bidagor.

However, the Plan Bidagor would hardly move beyond theory, because little was done by the INV and its affiliated developers in terms of actual construction, and because its plan for ordered, controlled growth was simply overwhelmed by immigration. Housing was a problem that affected both the new residents and those who were already established in the city. Those few who managed to live in the center either crammed their way in with relatives, or sublet rooms at exorbitant prices, a phenomenon known as *subarriendo* or *realquiler*. Those who were forced to the outskirts of town could possibly find room in the ever-growing suburbs, or spontaneously settle in areas that had been destined in planning to serve other purposes. These shantytowns (*chabolas*), like the proposed *anillos verdes* that they occupied, encircled the center of the city, but at the same time began to connect it to the *extrarradio*, the peripheral suburbs that had until then been separate from the city of Madrid.<sup>3</sup>

As more people arrived in the cities, the government encouraged them to look for their own property, even though supply was nowhere near covering demand. According to Antonio Cazorla Sánchez, the national housing deficit in 1950 was estimated at more than 680,000 dwellings (118). In 1957, the Ministerio de la Vivienda was formed to replace the Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, and soon issued the *Plan de Urgencia Social de Madrid*, which proposed the construction of 60,000 residences in two years (Brandis 219). Spain's first Housing Minister, the

---

<sup>3</sup> This type of migrant experience is central to *Surcos* (see Chapter Three), but does not figure prominently in the films I am discussing in this chapter. Shantytowns do appear briefly in *El inquilino*, as a last-resort option for the family, and in *El pisito*, when Petrita admits that she and Rodolfo should have gotten married long ago, even if it meant having to live in a *chabola*.

Falangist José Luis Arrese, declared that the *Plan de Urgencia*, “trata de enfrentarse con el problema de la vivienda en Madrid, para resolver no la parte normal de un crecimiento ordinario, sino aquella otra que a lo largo de unos años se ha ido acumulando sobre nuestra capital, y que hoy entre chabolas, realquilados y casas ruinosas, suman la gravísima cifra de sesenta mil viviendas” (qtd. in Fernández Anta et al.). In these declarations, the government acknowledged the housing deficit, yet construction alone could not solve the housing problem because the *problema de la vivienda* was not solely about filling empty homes.

During this period, housing was often highlighted in official discourse as a key element of both personal and social stability. Responsibility for acquiring a home was placed on families by rhetoric that made private property not only an individual goal, but a civic duty. For example, in an acceptance speech for a medal of excellence awarded to him in Ávila, Arrese declared with characteristic pomp that in his office, “Sabemos mejor que nadie que es el hogar el que convierte el vivir en vida o el que la deshace, sabemos que las viviendas dignas y decorosas son las que ahondan las virtudes familiares y las mantienen como patrimonio esencial de la vida humana [...]” (“Imposición” 6). Similar language appeared in the film *El inquilino*, when the protagonists visit a government office with unusually helpful bureaucrats who are rumored to “give away” apartments. The office walls are lined with encouraging signs that elevate housing to an ultimate goal, including, “Una vivienda propia es la base de una familia,” “La especulación sobre la vivienda es un hecho criminal,” “El problema de la vivienda es el más acuciante problema de nuestro tiempo,” and, perhaps most tellingly, “Sólo con vivienda propia puede el hombre cumplir su destino social.” Though these signs echoed the declarations made by housing officials, their context in the film is one of mockery, and they would eventually be removed from its final, censored version.

Unfortunately, few early housing plans succeeded in reducing the housing deficit, mainly because they did not count on private investors, who were more interested in the industrialization process than on building housing for those who arrived in search of jobs (Brandis 215). Bidagor was in fact initially against private involvement in housing, because it led to speculation, the practice of acquiring land for resale rather than development. Due to speculation, few new buildings were erected by anyone; in 1950, a national survey revealed that only six percent of buildings had been erected after the Civil War and seventy-four percent had been built in the nineteenth century (Cazorla Sánchez 117). In the typical language of destiny, Bidagor claimed that speculation would only lead to “la ruina de la propiedad privada como institución fecunda y positiva, base de nuestra civilización” (Rueda Laffond 600). The 1956 *Ley sobre Régimen del Suelo y Ordenación Urbana* was specifically established with the idea of curbing speculation (Goldsmith 333), though, once again, government housing plans quickly proved to be inadequate to fill the need for affordable housing.

The year after the new law, the Housing Ministry was established with Arrese as its head. Arrese, like Bidagor, was an old-guard member of the Falange and viewed housing as a responsibility of the state and part of a Falangist revolution (Goldsmith 340). However, by 1957 the Falange had long been a minor player in government, and Arrese’s ministry held relatively little influence. Though private investors had been initially dissuaded of participating in housing, by the end of the 1950s, the government began openly courting private help in order to combat the significant housing deficiency that still existed. Under the *Plan de Urgencia Social de Madrid*, the Ministry organized its efforts in two main directions: first, to promote the involvement of private-sector developers in the housing construction, and second, to regulate the growth of Madrid in an ordered manner through the construction of so-called “poblados

dirigidos.” The latter initiative resulted in few habitable developments, though they are considered the most architecturally alluring projects of the period.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, Arrese quickly became more direct in acknowledging the commercial interests of the government and the companies involved in development, foregoing any humanitarian or revolutionary claims that might have supported the destruction of the shantytowns and the relocation of the families that lived there: “La iniciativa privada no puede ser convocada a una labor eminentemente financiera en nombre de la caridad o simplemente del patriotismo. A la iniciativa privada, para que venga con alegría y perseverancia a colaborar en el negocio de la construcción, hay que ofrecerle lo que es: un negocio” (López Juan 210). This turn from a social program to an economic one coincided with the earliest financial reforms that would lead to the economic boom of the 1960s. Still, those who benefitted most from this private investment were not low-income workers that were looking for a place to rent, but construction companies and developers that built apartments that they could sell.

The result was immense, rapidly and cheaply built housing projects, on the outskirts of the city, far from the protected center. According to Santos Juliá:

[Los] promotores inmobiliarios y grandes sociedades anónimas  
actúan sobre terrenos expropiados y edifican en inmensos  
polígonos [...] sin que les importe nada la densidad de la  
población, la calidad de la vivienda, los equipamientos sociales, ni  
las vías de comunicación y los accesos. Lo que importaba era sacar  
a la gente de las chabolas y los realquileres y meterlas en un pisito  
de propiedad, con la ilusión de que habría de ser para toda la vida,

---

<sup>4</sup> For a detailed history of the *poblados dirigidos*, see Fernández-Galiano, Isasi, and Lopera.



sin preocuparse por saber cómo podrían salir del piso y llegar a la ciudad. Ya se las arreglarían como pudieran. (Juliá, Ringrose, and Segura 567)

The attempt at having an ordered expansion of the city, as was proposed in official urban plans, fell apart due to such rampant construction, corruption, and the indifference of the private sector to the well being of its new tenants. Furthermore, the vast majority of the new construction was meant for sale rather than rental, and therefore did little to reverse the housing deficit.<sup>5</sup> Even after a new *Plan Nacional de Vivienda* was proclaimed, with the goal of building four million new dwellings between 1961 and 1976 (Hooper 273), subsidies to the private sector ensured that the new housing mostly went to those who could afford to buy.

The *problema de la vivienda* reached its pinnacle in the 1950s because of a confluence of conditions that made owning a home a priority among Spaniards. First, the pressures of migration resulted in displaced groups that were literally looking for a new home. The shantytowns and *subbarriendo* that they were forced into made for miserable living situations that were unacceptable to both residents and government officials who worked to eliminate the blight from their cities. Even with government support and private investment building new homes, however, housing remained a limited commodity, only affordable to a fraction of the population. If they could purchase an apartment, the spaces they bought were cramped and poorly built, and rarely lived up to expectations. Still, those expectations were stimulated by rhetoric that encouraged the idea of private property as “la base de nuestra civilización” or the main element

---

<sup>5</sup> As mentioned above, Cazorla Sánchez notes that in 1950, the national housing deficit was estimated at more than 680,000 dwellings, even though approximately 150,000 recently built flats remained unoccupied in Spain and 178,000 only occasionally used (118). By 1968, the situation remained similar, and in Madrid alone there were an estimated 50,000 unoccupied apartments, though they were “too expensive and in the wrong neighborhoods, at least for the poor” (119).

of man's *destino social*. Together, these factors made the “dream house,” as Bachelard would term it, more prevalent in the social conscience. The pursuit of the ideal living situation and its material comforts helped form the middle-class consumer that was emerging in the 1950s. This idealization would be questioned by a series of films that claimed to show the flaws and pitfalls of this pursuit of happiness, but that in many ways were equally responsible for creating the ideal space of the dream house.

### Epic and Everyday Films

The pressures of the housing shortage, along with the rhetoric that linked the home to *destino social* increased the value of domestic space and therefore elevated it to the level of other social ideals, such as family, wealth, and power. The manipulation of ideals was certainly not unheard of under a regime that depended on propaganda as much as repression in order to maintain and strengthen its hold on power. The regime used role models—foremost among them was surely Franco himself—to express the values and behavior that a “good” citizen needed to emulate.<sup>6</sup> Within the realm of cinema, the films produced in the first postwar decade supported this idealization by reproducing it—and therefore helping to create it—on the big screen. Beginning in the 1950s, however, a new trend in film arose that challenged the epic idealization by examining its effects on everyday life. These films did this by shifting their focus from the

---

<sup>6</sup> According to José Enrique Monterde, the historical film of the 1940s proposed a model based on, among other traits, “el centrarse en las biografías de personajes ilustres, la propensión hacia la exaltación del héroe-caudillo como motor de la Historia y sujeto de relaciones paternalistas con el común de la población” (“Continuismo” 235). The foremost example of films that offered epic role models is probably *Raza*, directed by José Luis Saénz de Heredia in 1941 and based on a screenplay written by Franco himself. The film’s star, Alfredo Mayo, would evolve as the biggest star in Franco’s film system, and come to represent the ideal man in the minds of many.

In historical film, models also took the form of heroic women (queens, heroines, saints, mothers, etc.), noblemen and women from the period of “Reconquest,” folkloric stars of the stage, soldiers, and religious figures. See Monterde “Continuismo” 229-38 for a thorough listing and categorization of genres and films of the 1940s and the models they presented.

idealized space of historical epic to the more humble, realistic space of the home and the workplace. We must also be aware that turning an eye to everyday space did not always result in the loss of idealization, however. As we shall see, the quotidian home could be just as idealized as the epic space.

An example of the shift away from the epic is evident in the opening sequence of *Esa pareja feliz*. Because of its overt satire of the popular historical film epics of the 1940s,<sup>7</sup> Fernando Fernán Gómez, the film's star, called the scene a "declaración de principios" by the student filmmakers who co-directed and co-wrote it, Luis García Berlanga and Juan Antonio Bardem (Fernán Gómez 67). By opening their own movie with a parody of a hugely popular type of film in the 1940s as well the industry that created it, the neophyte directors created a space for themselves and for certain social issues that had barely been present before them. Spanish film of the immediate postwar had been overwhelmingly geared towards legitimizing the Franco regime and reaffirming the causes for the coup that had led to the Civil War. According to Rob Stone, "Spanish cinema was being used to rewrite the past and dictate the present in order to posit Francoist Spain as the culmination of a struggle through the ages and a beacon of sinlessness in an otherwise pagan world" (39).<sup>8</sup> Recent scholars, such as Steven Marsh and José Enrique Monterde, recognize that relatively few of the films produced between 1939 and 1951 conform to the caricature of "nation-building propaganda exercises in the form of rewritten history and religious epic" (Marsh 1) of the type overtly satirized in *Esa pareja feliz*. Still, popular comedies,

---

<sup>7</sup> A nobleman in sixteenth-century clothing and long wig demands in exaggerated speech that a queen sign a document because, as he puts it, "Palencia lo exige. Yo os los demando. ¡Firmad!" The queen refuses to sign and throws herself off a balcony in a histrionic suicide. She is not identified in the scene, but Carlos Heredero claims that the actress who plays the queen, Lola Gaos, is parodying Aurora Bautista in *Locura de amor*, a film about Juana la Loca, directed by Juan de Orduña in 1948 (*Huellas* 322).

<sup>8</sup> Luciano Egido, writing in 1961, summarized the selective past as represented in the historical films as "algunas biografías femeninas y unas pocas masculinas, el descubrimiento de América, la Guerra de la Independencia frente a los franceses y la guerra civil del 36 al 39" (22).

folkloric musicals, melodramas, and costume dramas were meant to uphold traditional values based on the distant past of Spain's imperial glory and to reassure the masses that their lives were better under the regime. In this way, many films of the autarkic period —historical epic or otherwise— mirrored the autarkic model, valuing the idealistic, individual hero who fought in a world split between good and evil, led by abstract values of religion, honor, and nationalism (*patria*), all geared towards political and social uniformity (Monterde “Modelo” 92). If Spain could go at it alone, so could its onscreen heroes. A film such as *Los últimos de Filipinas* (dir. Antonio Román, 1945) placed its protagonists (a Spanish battalion under siege by Filipino rebels during the Spanish-American War of 1898) in an epic space that stood as a metaphor for the isolationism that characterized Spain in the 1940s (Stone 38). The regime used the propagandistic power of film to spin isolation into something to be proud of, a signal of national strength, though one that had little to do with the actual situation of life in postwar Spain.

“Everyday life” did appear in another type of film that Spanish producers brought to the public along with the epic films: the home film. For reasons of categorization, I distinguish two types of home films: those that presented an idealized version of the everyday (epic quotidian), and those that purported to present a more realistic version of the home (non-epic quotidian or critical quotidian). In both cases, one of the means of entering that everyday space was through the adaptation to film of certain traits of the *sainete*, a style of popular theater that had flourished in Spain in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The focus of those pieces was often working-class protagonists and their everyday surroundings, including their homes, and a chorus of family members and neighbors. Furthermore, their setting was, more often than not, the crowded streets and apartment houses of Madrid. Juan A. Ríos Carratalá, in his study of the *sainete*'s influence in film, highlights the importance of a concrete setting in these films, but

differentiates between those that were “ajenas al espíritu regeneracionista” and “más cercanas a la otordoxia del sainete” (what I am calling “epic quotidian”) and those that presented housing as a problem and the principal obstacle that the protagonists must overcome (86). The epic quotidian films differ from the films that form the main focus of this study because they do not treat housing critically, even though they were produced in much the same context as *Esa pareja feliz*, *El inquilino*, *La vida por delante*, and *El pisito*. Rather, the epic quotidian films feature housing as a backdrop that, because of the collective nature of the *patio de vecinos* or folkloric *barrio*, presents the filmmakers with a device for introducing a multitude of character types that move in and out of the action. Therefore, the idealization in epic quotidian films is not so much about the homes where the characters live, which often have structural and economic problems that affect them as much as in the more critical films. Rather, the idealization comes about in the relationships that develop among the characters that share a common living space.

The most obvious example of a film that treats domestic space in an epic manner is *El batallón de sombras* (dir. Manuel Mur Oti, 1957), which opens with a text that dedicates the film to women: “esos seres bellos y resignados que marchan hasta el fin, inquebrantable en la desgracia y serenos en el esplendor.” A distinguished gentleman in a top hat and cane introduces the film in exaggeratedly sexist terms and uses militaristic language to compare man’s function as the “batallón luminoso” of humanity to women’s “batallón de las sombras [...] un batallón oscuro que combate [...] en la trinchera cómoda del hogar.” The tone of this introduction is rather lighthearted and the gentleman is mocked by a passing woman who happens to work in the building that forms the setting of the film. The man’s chauvinistic language is meant to appear ridiculous; the point of the film is that the world functions because of women’s work behind the scenes. Yet characterizing women and the home in militaristic terms (the narrator compares the

building's address, *el 47 duplicado*, to the names of army divisions such as *el 15 de Infantería* or *el 25 Acorazado* and refers to the building as a “cuartel femenino”) places domestic space in the same sphere as that of the military and historical epics that characterized the propaganda films of the postwar.

This sense of community solidarity is a major difference between these “epic quotidian” films and the “critical quotidian” films. In contrast to the critical films, the epic films repeatedly present the inhabitants of a building or neighborhood working together to overcome their obstacles. For example, *Así es Madrid* (dir. Luis Marquina, 1953) could be a tourist film to promote Madrid, beginning with a song accompanied by shots of the city's most famous monuments and buildings and plazas, many of them as they are named in the song. The exaltation of Madrid continues in a voiceover, which says that the city “tiene, como ninguna capital, sello y personalidad debidos principalmente a la manera de ser humana y característica de la humilde gente que habita estos barrios. Por eso, deteniéndonos en ellos es cuando puede decirse tal vez con más razón, ‘así es Madrid’.” However, there are not really that many characters who are so “humildes,” and of course those who are are mostly included as the butt of jokes. A mixed collection of people is repeated in Edgar Neville's *Mi calle* (1960), which expands the solidarity to an entire neighborhood in which, “Hay pobres, hay ricos, hay trabajadores, hay vagos, hay virtuosos, hay pecadores, hay buenos y malos” (Ríos Carratalá 88). This type of microcosm is unrealistic because the mix of social classes present in the buildings would hardly be found living together in real life.

There are also instances in which neighbors come together to fight a force outside the walls of their building. For example, *Historias de Madrid* (dir. Ramon Comas, 1958) tells the story of a conflict between a landlord who prays for his old building to fall down so that he may build a

new one and the inhabitants of the building who wish to save it. The building itself is indeed rundown, dark, and falling apart. As in other films in this study such as *Surcos*, *Esa pareja feliz*, or *El pisito*, the interior courtyard of this building is in constant motion, full of neighbors who yell at each other from their balconies and children always underfoot. In *Historias de Madrid*, however, this commotion is not oppressive, and a solidarity develops among the inhabitants, who band together against the more threatening menaces of the landlord, firefighters, and city hall. This collective action is rewarded with a happy ending. Even though the residents lose their battle and their building, a public official miraculously appears with keys to a new building that city hall has built for them.<sup>9</sup>

Repeatedly, then, these idealizing quotidian films reinforce the official view of the home as part of a collective goal. The dominant housing model of these films is the *casa corrala* or *patio de vecinos*, a typical building in Madrid whose structure around a central courtyard naturally places residents in contact with each other. This was, in fact, already an anachronistic architectural model by the mid-twentieth century because this type of housing was no longer being built and the *casa corralas* of the 1950s dated from the nineteenth century (Santa Cruz Astorqui I-49). This model is fitting for the nostalgia for a pre-consumerist, pre-individualist past that underlies these epic quotidian films, however, since the setting of the films creates a social configuration that enables a collective action. Furthermore, the producers of these epic quotidian films extend the collective paradigm from the physical space around the characters to the characters themselves. In this way, when characters show solidarity with their neighbors so that everything ends happily, we see a model of how citizens could join the national project. What is more important in this case is not the individual apartment in which one family (extended though

---

<sup>9</sup> As we shall see, Nieves Conde's *El inquilino* includes a similarly miraculous ending, but only after its original ending was rejected by the Housing Ministry.

it may be) fights for itself, but in how the community extends beyond the walls of privacy. The home in this case is more than part of a collective goal; the home becomes the collective itself. Paradoxically, this idea upholds the importance of collective isolation that had been so important during autarky: the residents of a building become stronger by banding together against an outside force (from greedy landlords to unhelpful public officials and corrupt developers). As we shall see, this is a fundamental difference between the epic quotidian films and those that are considered more realistic because they looked at housing in a more critical manner, by presenting the *problema de la vivienda* as an individual problem that left couples and families isolated and ignored.

For critical directors such as Marco Ferreri,<sup>10</sup> Luis García Berlanga, Juan Antonio Bardem,<sup>11</sup> José Antonio Nieves Conde,<sup>12</sup> and Fernando Fernán Gómez,<sup>13</sup> the housing situation in

---

<sup>10</sup> The Italian Ferreri (1928-1997) made three films in Spain, *El pisito* (1958), *Los chicos* (1959), and *El cochecito* (1960). *El pisito* and *El cochecito* were written in collaboration with Rafael Azcona, a satirical writer who also had a close working relationship with Luis García Berlanga. These two films are considered masterpieces of dark humor due to their blend of absurdity and Spanish *esperpento*. After the release of *El cochecito*, Ferreri's Spanish visa was not renewed and he went on to have a long career in Italy and France, including *La grande bouffe* (1973), also written in collaboration with Azcona.

<sup>11</sup> García Berlanga (1921-2010) and Bardem (1922-2002) were members of the first class of students at the Instituto de Investigaciones y Experiencias Cinematográficas (IIEC). With other students, they formed the Altamira production company, which produced their first feature film, *Esa pareja feliz*, in 1951. Their next collaboration, *¡Bienvenido, Mister Marshall!* (1953), directed by Berlanga and co-written by Bardem, is one of the most critically acclaimed Spanish films of all time. Both men are considered among the most "dissident" directors in Spanish cinema, and both went on to have prolific careers, though Bardem's political inclinations (he was a committed and vocal member of the Spanish Communist Party), kept him from receiving much official recognition. Each man is credited with establishing a distinct branch of Spanish "dissident" film under Franco. Bardem's politics led him to produce conscientious dramas such as the excellent *Muerte de un ciclista* (1955) and *Calle Mayor* (1956). García Berlanga, whose politics were never as clear as Bardem's but who was highly critical of the dictatorship, continued in the satirical comedy genre of *¡Bienvenido, Mister Marshall!* Like Ferreri's, his collaborations with Rafael Azcona, including *Plácido* (1961) and *El verdugo* (1963) —where he would once again take up the topic of housing— are classic examples of satirical dark humor that reveals the absurdity of everyday life.

<sup>12</sup> Nieves Conde's (1915-2006) film career has been called "oscilante" (Gubern et al. 267) due to his fluctuations between films that can be considered dissident (such as *El inquilino* and *Surcos*, the two Nieves Conde films that I analyze in this dissertation) to "continuist," in line with Francoist rhetoric (*Balarrasa*). His later career is considered completely commercial, which he attributed to not being able to continue in the critical line he established in his more dissident films (Castro 266). Nieves Conde was an ardent supporter of the Falange and much of his criticism stemmed from his disillusionment with how the Franco regime had strayed from Falangist principles. I elaborate on Nieves Conde's politics in Chapter Three.



Spain, and especially Madrid, was a way of incorporating some of the ethical critique that they had seen possible in the forms of Italian neorealism.<sup>14</sup> The films of the “golden years” of neorealism in Italy, 1943-48,<sup>15</sup> are chronologically positioned to have been an influence in Spanish film of the 1950s, yet their presence among a popular audience was greatly limited due to a censorship that either greatly delayed their commercial release or kept them out of the country altogether.<sup>16</sup> However, the films’ influence on people within the industry was considerable, as they had access to them through private viewings, film clubs, and foreign film festivals that they attended in person. The most acknowledged of these were two “Semanas de Cine Italiano,” held at the Instituto Italiano de Cultura in 1951 and 1953. These private series had an important impact on many of the students at the IECC,<sup>17</sup> not only because they saw the films, but also because they put them in contact with some of the leading directors, screenwriters and theorists of neorealism in Italy.

According to Noa Steimatsky, Italian neorealism offered a way for its directors to “disrupt” the categories of film that had preceded it in such places as Hollywood and Rome’s Cinecittà (71). Its realism lay not necessarily in a purely objective presentation of everyday life, but in a

<sup>13</sup> Fernán Gómez (1921-2007), one of Spain’s most prolific and respected actors, appears as the protagonist of three of the four films I discuss in this chapter. As a director, he had most critical success in the 1960s, with *El mundo sigue* (1963) and *El extraño viaje* (1964), considered among the best dissident films of the decade.

<sup>14</sup> For example, Heredero dedicates an entire section of his chapter on “La disidencia interior” to “La larga sombra del neorealismo” (*Huellas* 287-301). For studies of the influence of Italian neorealism on Spanish cinema, see especially Heredero (*Huellas* 287-301), Jordan, Kinder, Monterde (“Neorealismo”), and Pavlović et al. (81-103).

<sup>15</sup> A periodization suggested by Mark Shiel. There is an inexhaustible bibliography on the history of Italian neorealism and its influence in film history. For a small sampling of general histories and significant theories and criticism, see Armes, Bazin, Liehm, Overbey, and Steimatsky.

<sup>16</sup> All in all, Monterde estimates that only approximately fifteen neorealist films had a commercial release in Spain. This includes *Ladri di biciclette*, in 1950, two years after its release in Italy (“Neorealismo” 53). Nevertheless, an explicit reference to neorealism appears in *Surcos*, when the gangster Don Roque takes his mistress to the movies and tells her, “Ahora lo que se lleva son las neorealistas.” When she asks what he means, he tells her that they are films concerned with “problemas sociales, gente de barrio....”

<sup>17</sup> Bardem calls the first week “culturalmente el hecho más importante para nuestra generación de cienastas”(Castro 57). Fernán Gómez writes of having been involved in theater productions at the Instituto de Cultura Italiana as well as in the organization of the week of neorealist film, thanks to the “extraterritorialidad” of the Italian center, which kept the screenings free from “el arbitrio de la estúpida censura franquista” (44).

vision that differed from that which had come before: “[...] neorealism could define itself not as mimetically representational, or restorative and backwards looking, but as participating in a continued rebuilding of reality, wherein its ‘realism’ gains an ‘oppositional’ consciousness” (69). In 1950s Spain, though it had many of the traits that could be found in post-war Italy,<sup>18</sup> a vocal opposition was not possible simply because its fascist regime was still in power. Because every film was required to pass through censorship before and after filming,<sup>19</sup> the critical model of neorealism remained a “mítico punto de referencia” (Monterde “Continuismo” 280) to which Spanish filmmakers could aspire but not imitate outright. Therefore, the dissidence in these films lies not so much in a vocal and direct criticism of the upper classes and the institutions that supported them, but rather in the depiction of how the structures of society (e.g., consumerism, hierarchy, censorship, poverty) affected the working classes. It also would have an impact on the type of intimate, local setting in which they would produce and locate their films.

Neorealism’s influence emerged in the type of themes that might advance an alternative moral account of the Spanish middle and lower classes, one that involved real people with everyday problems and illustrated a social conscience on the part of the filmmakers. A critical vein of Spanish film that emerged in the 1950s rejected the mythologizing cinema that had characterized the previous decades. According to Kathleen Vernon, who specifically singles out *Esa pareja feliz*, these films “offer a critique of the myth-making power of cinema even as they harness its magic in order to reveal the realities (urban unemployment, the housing crisis, the growth of nascent consumer society fed by an increasingly influential mass media apparatus) that

---

<sup>18</sup> Monterde lists the following similarities between Spain and the conditions in post-War Italy that had partially led to the development of neorealism there: “trauma posbélico, problemas sociales, carencias económicas, desesperanza existencial, voluntad de implicación en una realidad a transformar, etc.” (“Neorrealismo” 57).

<sup>19</sup> “A una información totalmente dirigida —prensa, radio, TV más tarde— se unía el cine en un esfuerzo conjunto de ‘educar’ al público” (Castro 13).

the films they criticize had suppressed” (Vernon 255). In order to do so, however, they could not focus simply on thematic content; they also had to move their films to a more localized, specific setting, and to problems on a smaller scale. Thus, though they were opening the system by focusing on issues more closely linked to contemporary reality, the critical filmmakers of the 1950s were also attracted to a much more intimate, private space. As opposed to the utopian spaces of historical film, bringing everyday “realism” to the screen meant setting the films in the spaces in which everyday conflicts occur, namely, the street, the workplace, and especially the home.

The critical housing films were never box-office successes,<sup>20</sup> and the major draw to the movies continued to be folkloric films starring singing starlets or children, along with the ever-present Hollywood productions, dubbed and edited to the demands of the censors. Nevertheless, it was the critical films that were able to find a position from which they could comment on the more uncomfortable situations that affected the working- and middle-classes of the time. Vital among these, and perhaps one of the reasons people wanted to be distracted when going to the movies, was the *problema de la vivienda*. However, bringing “reality” to the screen did not make the situation any less difficult than it actually was. By producing domestic comedies and focusing on the home, these filmmakers were taking part in a critique of everyday life and of the effects the changing modernity was having on the private lives of ordinary people. Therefore,

---

<sup>20</sup> According to Ríos Carratalá, these directors “suponían que los problemas reales de la vivienda podían interesar a sus hipotéticos espectadores —lo cual no sucedió— e imaginaron que incorporándolos bajo la perspectiva de lo sainetesco [...] podían hacer un cine viable en aquel marco de censura y que incorporara la experiencia cotidiana de tantos realquilados e inquilinos, es decir, la mayoría de los españoles” (89). The admission of the relative commercial failure of these films is no surprise —because of limited theater releases, compounded with delayed release dates and other hold ups by censorship, the only one of these films that had any kind of success with contemporary audiences was *La vida por delante*. Although its director and star, Fernando Fernán Gómez, admits to having waited eight years to earn back the money he spent on the film, its popularity with audiences helped spawn a sequel in 1959, *La vida por alrededor*. This second film, however, did fail at the box office (Castro 151).

bringing everyday life to the big screen placed it on the same level as the evasive life of epic film, simply by presenting it in a fictionalized format that isolated these cases and projected them *back* to audiences. Movie space may have been less about the space of the historical epic, the achievement of moral or religious nobility, or an idealized community, but these filmmakers highlighted a myth that was just as elusive. They did this by focusing on one element, isolation, which was central to the idealization of both a strong nation and a strong home. However, instead of an autarkic national ideal, and in a reversal of the collective solidarity of the epic everyday films, isolation now took the form of personal and familial privacy. As these critical films reveal, new architectural modes and housing practices threatened the promised isolation of home.

## Film and Space

The directors of the critical everyday films used the evolution in housing and architectural models to transmit the relationship between their characters and the space around them. The directors took the housing shortage and used it to their comic advantage, creating situations in which their characters, through no fault of their own, suffer the consequences of not being able to find a home that meets their expectations. The structural changes in domestic architecture created a setting in which these directors could explore the effect of the *problema de la vivienda* in spatial terms. In order to question the manipulation of space that the films take advantage of, I will explore several spatial relationships that evolved during the decade. First, there exists a vertical dimension that directly reflects a power dynamic in which an ideal space is imagined as isolated, elevated, and dominant over the cityscape below. Next, vertical domination corresponds to a central position whose power is diminished as the protagonists of these films are pushed

farther and farther away from the city center. Ironically, as the buildings get farther away from the center, they actually tend to get bigger. However, rather than offering inhabitants a height from which they might control their surroundings, these larger buildings are portrayed as towering *over* the protagonists, while they are left in a submissive position on the ground. Finally, these vertical and horizontal axes highlight another dimension, in which the boundary between interior and exterior breaks down, further dismantling the ideal privacy that one associates with the home and also creating the possibility of forming the ideal individual through a stricter discipline of domestic space.

#### Dominated Space from Above and Below

The dominance or submission of the protagonists to the buildings in which they live (or hope to live) is dependent on their vertical placement above or below the built environment. Noa Steimatsky has observed in Italian neorealism an aerial trope that “emblemizes spacial perception in modernity” (14) by creating a distance between spectator and object. For my purposes, this trope can be extended in the opposite direction, downward, in the Spanish films. Instead of gaining height on the landscape around them, the norm for these characters is to be overwhelmed by the inaccessible buildings that tower above the street-level protagonists. Thus, a distance remains between their desires and their reality, a physical distance that separates them from their ideal home. Rather than giving the spectator the view from above, these films keep the audience down, along with the protagonists, in a position of submission to the buildings around them. In this way, the Spanish directors recognize their debt to Italian neorealists by internalizing the spatial tropes and by illustrating them in a Spanish context. Curiously, though, the trope seems to have shifted during the decade of the 1950s as architectural developments and fashions

altered the position of the Spanish home and homeowner. Early in the decade, some command of space still seems possible, but this fades as the decade advances.

The earliest of the four films that I have selected, *Esa pareja feliz*, was produced in 1951, the same year as Nieves Conde's *Surcos*, the subject of the third chapter in this project.<sup>21</sup> There is no indication that Juan and Carmen, its protagonists, are recent migrants, as *Surcos*'s Pérez family are, but their housing situation is surprisingly similar: the couple sublets a room in a *casa de corral*, the same type of building that houses the Pérez family, with a similar amount of activity bustling about the courtyard.<sup>22</sup> However, whereas the Pérez's building was portrayed as dark, chaotic, and oppressive, the building in *Esa pareja feliz* transmits a warm, open community. Furthermore, the building is relatively close to the city center, a location that is apparent in a scene in which Juan and Carmen share a moment on their rooftop. From this height, the couple is able to see the towers of the church in which they were married and the home of the girl who introduced them, a view that triggers a flashback to their first encounter, at a carnival that provides a Bakhtinian reversal of hierarchical position. The centerpiece of this episode is a ride on the carnival's Ferris wheel, which abruptly gets stuck and is stopped for

---

<sup>21</sup> In *Esa pareja feliz* (dir. Juan Antonio Bardem and Luis García Berlanga, 1953), Juan (Fernán Gómez) works as a technical assistant for a film production company and Carmen (Elvira Quintillá) is a stay-at-home wife. The main conflict of the film deals with their opposing approaches to finding "happiness" (in many ways, dependent on money): Juan enters dubious business ventures and takes correspondence courses that promise things such as "la felicidad por la electrónica," while Carmen prefers to try her luck in contests and games of chance. Neither of them fully respects the other's methods until Carmen finally wins a contest, sponsored by the Florit soap company. The couple spends a day as the "Happiest Couple in Madrid," filled with meals at fancy restaurants and gifts from department stores and other sponsors. A clear, though sentimental, criticism of emerging consumerism, the film ends with the couple realizing that none of the material objects being pushed upon them by the prize's sponsors can bring them happiness, which only truly lies in their love for each other.

*Esa pareja feliz* was produced in 1951 by Altamira, a production company mostly made up of students and professors from the Instituto de Investigaciones y Experiencias Cinematográficas (IEEC). It received the lowest classification from the censors, which limited its possibilities of distribution, and was not released until 1953, after the success of the Berlanga and Bardem's second collaboration, *¡Bienvenido, Mister Marshall!*

<sup>22</sup> Ríos Carratalá, in his study of the influence of the sainete in Spanish film, describes Juan and Carmen's home as a "caracterización de la vivienda sainetesca: antigua, abigarrada, con patio interior y barandilla, llantos de niños, paredes desconchadas, carencia de la más mínima intimidad..." (n. 4, 85).

hours while Carmen and Juan sit at its highest point. From their rooftop, and from the Ferris wheel, Juan and Carmen rise above ground level and see Madrid laid out below them, a position that is unusual for the working classes to which Juan and Carmen belong. From here, they immediately begin to manipulate the landscape of the city. In this sense, the protagonists are permitted a rare occasion to “own” the territory below and take on a position of control that is often limited to those in power.

The powerful view from above was studied by both Michel de Certeau and Roland Barthes, who explored the symbolic meaning of being able to look over one’s surroundings and take in the panoramic view of the city. For Barthes, the totalizing view instills in the spectator the urge to read the city below her in two ways. First, the privilege of the bird’s-eye view separates the spectator from the land below and allows her to manipulate the landscape by mapping it out as she sees it. Once the overwhelming sight of the whole city subsides, the spectator can react to what lays below and before her and create her own city by picking out what she recognizes and ignoring the rest: the viewer “reconstitutes” the city as she knows it by identifying landmarks and sites that she recognizes (Barthes 10). Certeau posits a similar sensation from the top of the World Trade Center in New York, where the viewer becomes a “solar-eye” that can partake in an “erotics of knowledge” brought on by the complete vision and the ability to “read” the city below (92). For once, she enjoys the perspective of the mapmaker and city planner. This reconstitution puts the viewer in a position of power that depends on being above one’s surroundings. The humanist geographer Yi-Fu Tuan adds, “What does it mean to be in command of space, to feel at home in it? It means that the objective reference points in space, such as landmarks and the cardinal positions, conform with the intention and the coordinates of the human body” (36).

The future couple of *Esa pareja feliz* is now quite literally isolated, separated from the city below, and like Certeau's "solar-eye" they are capable of looking down at the city around them. For Barthes, the height advantage creates for each of its visitors an autarky, where "one can feel cut off from the world yet the owner of a world" (16). Being atop the Ferris wheel places the couple where they may have the double view that Barthes and Certeau highlight, as part of the city yet separate from it, able to recognize and point out familiar landmarks yet high enough above it to take it in as a whole. From above the city, they are also able to map out optimistically their future together as a couple. Juan, unwittingly anticipating Barthes's impression, even goes so far as to say that he likes being this high above the city because, "desde aquí uno se siente el amo de todo."

Unfortunately for Juan, Carmen, and the other couples in these films, the empowerment that comes from being up high cannot last. Their autarkic bliss quickly disappears, when the film jumps several hours to the same evening, and the two remain shivering in the cold wind. Their privileged vantage point, because of its isolation and lack of comforts, is as unsustainable as the national autarkic project was already proving to be by the time of the film's production. Certeau asks if the viewer from above must fall back down into the crowds "that are unable to see below" (93), and in this case, this couple does just that. While up high, isolated from the city, Juan can keep his idealism and his ambition for the life ahead of him, but the rest of the film shows us that life back on earth is much more limiting than even being trapped atop a Ferris wheel. The limits of being down on the ground are prevalent in these films, for with the exception of these scenes for Juan and Carmen, there are few locations where the protagonists are positioned above their surroundings.



By the time of production of the films in the latter half of the decade, new housing projects arose in the suburbs, changing the dynamics of both the type of architecture of the buildings and the distances separating the residential areas from the city's center. As new buildings went up farther and farther away from the city center, they also took on new heights. High-rises are designed to accommodate as many people as possible in a reduced space, and therefore result in buildings that are tall but that often constrict the space inside the apartments. Whereas Juan and Carmen could stand atop their apartment building and look out across and down to the urban space around them, the new buildings are presented as isolated, surrounded only by empty lots and identical high-rises that stretch on beyond the camera's frame. These multi-story high-rises offer no vertical advantage to their occupants, and instead leave them quite powerless.

In addition, the films highlight the inconvenience of reaching the new *barrios*. Whereas the buildings in the center of town were falling apart due to poor maintenance or actively being torn down, the periphery of the city was full of new construction. Rodolfo and Petrita, in *El pisito*, take a crowded streetcar to what appears to be the end of the track, to an area where a herd of goats must scatter as the car approaches. In *El inquilino*, Evaristo boards a bus that is sponsored by the Mundis S.A. construction company—the same company that has bought and is tearing down his current home—to take potential buyers to their new buildings. The inconvenience and isolation of these places comes out not only in the time that it takes the characters to reach the developments, but also in the way the filmmakers present the new buildings and the areas around them. Many of these shots show hints of the influence of Italian neorealism. In scenes reminiscent of Vittorio De Sica's *Ladri di biciclette* (1948), whose protagonists lived in a large housing complex, the camera lingers on Rodolfo and Petrita, or Antonio and Josefina, as they walk along newly laid out streets, lined with young trees and only sometimes paved. These long

takes are often accompanied by some whimsical music that brings out the smallness of the figures in contrast to the immensity of the buildings that tower above them and extend into the distance in identical repetition.

The dominance of the buildings is created mostly through the use of low-angle camera shots that illustrate the characters' point of view as they look *up* at the buildings around them. In *El pisito*,<sup>23</sup> Rodolfo and Petrita have their *merienda* after visiting a new development full of apartments that they cannot afford, and the monolithic buildings stand above them in the background. The area around them is so underdeveloped that they must sit on the barren ground to eat food that they have brought themselves; the trip by tram out to the development took so long that they couldn't make it back home until after dark.

Perhaps the most striking example of character positioning can be seen in *El inquilino*,<sup>24</sup> a film in which the domination of the architecture over the protagonists evolves and intensifies as the story develops. The opening credits of Nieves Conde's film appear over two extended pans

---

<sup>23</sup> In *El pisito* (dir. Marco Ferreri, 1959), Rodolfo (José Luis López Vázquez) and Petrita (Mary Carrillo) have been a couple for twelve years, but they have yet to marry. Petrita lives with her sister and her sister's family in a sublet room. Rodolfo rents a room from doña Martina (Concha López Silva), along with two other boarders. Doña Martina wishes to pass the apartment's lease on to Rodolfo when she dies, but since she herself is a renter, the owner of the building refuses to honor the lease at 30 pesetas a month and prefers to tear down the building and sell the property. Rodolfo and Petrita decide that Rodolfo can marry doña Martina and therefore inherit the lease as her spouse. Martina takes much longer than expected to pass away, and in that time Rodolfo and Petrita's relationship becomes strained, as both realize the absurdity of waiting for an old woman to die in order for them to begin their life as a couple, something that they felt only possible if and when they could finally rent their own, private home.

*El pisito* was adapted by Rafael Azcona from one of his own short stories, based on a newspaper story from Barcelona. It was the first of three films that Ferreri would direct in Spain, followed by *Los chicos* (1959) and *El cochecito* (1960). *El pisito* was given a 2-A by the censors, meaning a very limited release, six months after production ended.

<sup>24</sup> The husband and wife in *El inquilino* (dir. José Antonio Nieves Conde, 1957), Evaristo (Fernán Gómez) and Marta (Mari Carmen Alonso), are the only couple in these films that have children, and also the only couple to already have a home when their story begins. However, they are on the verge of losing that home, six months after notice of eviction, when a work crew comes to tear down their building. Thanks to the crew-chief's patience and imagination, Evaristo and Marta have three extra days to save their home or look for a new one, during which time they visit real estate agencies, government offices, their uncooperative and ignorant landlord, bankers, chabolistas, and a recent widow, all to no avail. The film's original ending finds Evaristo moving his furniture out onto a street corner to inhabit "la vivienda moderna," but in the final, censored ending Marta finds the family an apartment in a new housing development named "Barrio La Esperanza."

of the Madrid skyline, establishing shots that situate the viewer above the city, as the Ferris wheel did for Juan and Carmen. This position is maintained in the first sequence, in which Evaristo looks down to the street below from his top-floor window. He is, as far as we know, still in control of his situation and his position on high reinforces this feeling. This control lasts very briefly, however, for once the camera follows Evaristo down the stairwell of his building and to its exterior, we learn that his apartment is on the verge of being taken away from him and torn down with the rest of the building in order to make way for a new high-rise. Destruction and construction form one of the binary oppositions in the film that Susan Larson has noted “play themselves out in the streets of Madrid and literally leave no room for what is portrayed as a typical Spanish family” (125). Larson’s other binaries include the preservation of family/the weakening of family ties and commitments; the traditional/the modern; the national/the foreign; and state subvention/capitalism. To this I must add the vertical binary of upward and downward. Evaristo, his wife Marta, and their children will be forced downward throughout the film, as the (economic) forces that they must battle in order to secure a home for their family build upward around them.

Evaristo’s glance out the high window is his last. In an act of clemency on the part of the crew sent to tear down the building, the family is quickly moved from the top floor to a bottom floor of the building. Thanks to this move, the crew is capable of literally tearing down the building around the family’s home. Interspersed throughout the film are shots of the crew dismantling the building’s interior and exterior walls and dumping the refuse into the adjacent empty lot. The remaining establishing shots now provide a view of the buildings that Evaristo and Marta visit during the film. It is not a coincidence that nearly all of these buildings are solitary high-rises that tower above their surroundings; inside them are the offices of the

construction companies, landlords, and government departments that stand between the family and the salvation of their home.

*El inquilino* was originally released in 1958, approved by the censors,<sup>25</sup> but was removed from screens after two weeks due to objections by the recently formed Ministerio de la Vivienda. It was eventually reissued, but not until 1964, with severe alterations, including the removal of several shots and scenes, a different ending, and the addition of a notice at the beginning of the film that said that the Ministerio was “doing all it could” to solve the housing problem. Also eliminated was one of the most striking scenes of the movie, in which Evaristo wanders the streets looking up at the buildings around him, only to see signs that read “Venta por pisos” high above him. This sequence is especially remarkable due to the editing, which switches from shots of Evaristo looking up at buildings, to the workers who are busy demolishing his home, with pieces of plaster and wood falling down around them. The shots of the crew show a clear neorealist influence in style, with its unprofessional actors going about their duties in their natural setting. The repetition of the “Venta por pisos” signs that look down upon Evaristo from the towers is even more overwhelming because they signal the greatest frustration for “the tenant”: the fact that he cannot come close to affording to buy an apartment, let alone rent one. This is accompanied by a delirious score, highlighting Evaristo’s hopelessness as the unobtainable flats swirl around him. The dizzying music swirls into prominence as Evaristo’s frustrations grow, and while the music seems wistful at first, its beat quickly matches up with the sounds of the hammers and destruction that come from the intercutting shots of the work crew. In fact, music is clearly matched throughout the film to expose the elusiveness of an alternate

---

<sup>25</sup> Larson includes a transcript of the original censor’s report and notes that Nieves Conde’s “anti-modern, anti-capitalist Falangist form of social criticism would protect the film from most accusations of ideological impropriety” (131).

home, as the high-rises that house the offices of Mundis, the marquis landlord's palace, and the governmental department are also accompanied by a whimsical tune that highlights the couple's powerlessness. Along with the music, the juxtaposition of the building's destruction with Evaristo's wandering about with the knowledge that his family's home is coming down is perhaps the harshest criticism of the entire film.

### Bringing the Audience Inside

Susan Larson writes that the changes to *El inquilino* caused by the delayed censorship, "create an incongruous happy ending [that] undoes the careful balancing act and delicate persuasion of the film's narrative structure" (134). Larson does not mention, however, that along with an appendix full of "Mutilaciones, Supresiones y Cambios" that reveal the difference between original and censored versions, the restoration by the Filmoteca Nacional also includes the film's original trailer. This piece is particularly revealing due to the way in which it overtly interpellates the film's audience and identifies them with the characters of the film itself.

The trailer, which basically summarizes the plot of *El inquilino*, shows a cartoon Fernando Fernán Gómez unable to fulfill his dreams of finding a home for his family. However, in the trailer the film itself is presented as the answer to his, and every man's, struggles. As the cartoon Evaristo slumps his way along the street, a voiceover says: "Ya no le queda nada a que recurrir, cuando ... [a poster for the film appears] ¿No comprende que su caso es el caso de todos y que por eso ha sido llevado a la pantalla? Hemos puesto una cámara ante Usted, y el resultado ha sido *El inquilino*, una película hecha con el corazón. Vaya. Vaya a verla y se convencerá." The trailer illustrates the filmmakers' desire to market the picture as a faithful representation of the experiences of its audience. Furthermore, as a movie trailer, whose purpose is to attract

audience members to see the film, the promotion must directly appeal to the implied viewer. By addressing the trailer to “Usted,”<sup>26</sup> the film viewer *becomes* the resident looking for a home, and vice versa. The trailer sells the film as both an exposition of the housing problem, and a form of solace that helps viewers know that they are not alone. Furthermore, by selling itself as the “caso de todos,” the film is meant to reassure the resident/viewer that the problem is one that needs to be accepted as inevitable, and therefore not something to be fought against.

By so overtly stating that *El inquilino* was the result of putting “una cámara ante Usted,” the trailer was also hinting at the implications of a realism that linked audience and subject by focusing on everyday situations. Walter Benjamin, in his seminal essay “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” perceived that the cinema camera would “penetrate” the web of reality (233). If these films were “el caso de todos” brought to the screen, they went a long way in penetrating the everyday life of their protagonists, and, by extension, their audiences. Additionally, just as the films were apparently denouncing the breakdown of privacy that was a result of buildings and walls getting torn down, they too were tearing down the same walls. In this way, the films were not just about physical walls coming down, but about creating a greater acceptance of the breakdown between public and private, which was coincidentally just the type of viewer that the regime would also be interested in, as it allowed for greater control. Therefore, the architectural changes that were resulting in larger, high-rise buildings were not controlling people just by putting more of them in the same place, but tearing down internal barriers, as seen

---

<sup>26</sup> A similarly direct address is parodied in *Esa pareja feliz* when Juan and Carmen see the commercial for the contest sponsored by Jabones Florit that will turn them into “La pareja más feliz de Madrid.” As the company spokesman shouts out “¡Usted!” to the audience, the camera cuts to certain individuals who clearly look back at the screen as if they were being called on specifically.

in the configuration in Fernán Gómez's *La vida por delante*<sup>27</sup> that allows the neighbor to get involved in the couple's argument.

In order to show how the breakdown in privacy affected the couples' expectations for *la vida moderna*, the films first establish the ideal of isolation, all the while tempering those expectations. Once *La vida por delante*'s protagonists are married, they must go through the process of looking for an apartment in order to move out from Antonio's parents' home. As an educated, middle-class couple, both trained professionally, they can and do purchase their own apartment, for which Josefina writes an ad for the *ABC*. The original wording of the ad is "Matrimonio desea piso confortable y moderno," which Antonio rejects as "exagerado." He also thinks "Matrimonio joven desea piso confortable y económico" is "presuntuoso," but finally accepts "Matrimonio joven desea pisito tres habitacioncitas." He prefers it, he says, because it shows that they are willing to settle for less.<sup>28</sup> This is meant to be humorous but does not hide the fact that even the couples that could presumably afford to buy an apartment in the new buildings still did not have it very easy. It is also a way for Fernán Gómez to transmit the message that it is better to keep expectations low rather than risk the disappointment of not getting what one wants. From the beginning of the film, Antonio is the more cautious of the two, presented as the serious

---

<sup>27</sup> As mentioned above, *La vida por delante* (dir. Fernando Fernán Gómez, 1958) opens with an argument between husband Antonio (Fernán Gómez) and wife Josefina (Analia Gadé) over their current professional and economic situation; Josefina has her own office as a psychologist while Antonio stays at home studying for the exams that will allow him to practice as a lawyer. The majority of the rest of the film is a flashback, signaled by Antonio directly facing the camera and telling the audience, "No comprendo cómo puedo haber llegado a esto." We see their courtship, engagement, wedding and honeymoon, and their attempts at establishing themselves professionally and domestically. Antonio goes through several menial jobs since his law degree "allows him to do anything." However, he refuses to permit Josefina to work as a therapist. When Josefina has a traffic accident in their new "biscuter," Antonio fails at defending her at her trial, and she decides to open her own office. She will eventually have to close her practice, however, once she discovers she is pregnant. The impending birth of the son left room open for a sequel to this very successful film, and indeed, Fernán Gómez returned to direct *La vida alrededor* in 1959.

<sup>28</sup> He says that it is better to "orientar...decir con lo que nos conformamos."

member of the couple whose chances of success are complicated because of his relationship with the exuberant Josefina.

The only exterior shot of the apartment building that Antonio and Josefina will eventually come to inhabit is in fact an imaginary shot of a building that has yet to be constructed. Their real-estate agent stops them in front of an empty lot and asks them to imagine their future apartment: “Allí no llegarán los ruidos de la calle, el ajeteo de los tranvías, el humo de los autobuses. Allí no habrá gitano que se atreva a subir para molestarlos ofreciéndoles plumas estilográficas y paños recién traídos de Tánger.” Fernán Gómez’s camera follows the agent’s words as he describes the space, moving from imaginary room to imaginary room. Above all else, what the agent is promising is isolation and privacy, a home of their own where they can escape the distractions and the cheap, useless objects of *la vida moderna*. This scene is reminiscent of the Ferris wheel of *Esa pareja feliz* because it looks to the future; the spectator, like the couple, is asked to imagine how the finished building and apartment will appear and is invited to share in the fantasy of what the “vida por delante” holds. The look up to the empty sky leaves room for expansion, and thanks to the agent, the couple is invited to dream of what might be possible in their home. His sales pitch and description of the future apartment highlights two features: isolation and space. The description is literally of a home in the sky, the ideal space where the couple will have their own refuge.

Like the landlord in *Esa pareja feliz*, who promised Juan and Carmen peace and quiet based on the thickness of the walls between them (“mampostería pura, nada de los tabiques de ahora que te permiten oír la digestión de los que comen al lado”), the prospect of home in *La vida por delante* depends upon the characteristics that everyone wishes to find, but that prove to be only an ideal. The perfect home is sold as a space that is both isolated and self-contained, a



refuge that will offer privacy to its inhabitants, and concurrently, a stable location for them to work and reproduce the values of the regime. However, it is ironic that the home of the future is based on a nostalgic vision of the home and one that does not comply with the real housing model arising in Madrid and elsewhere in the 1950s. This home remains either locked in the past, within a flashback, or lingers in the future, in the empty promises of real-estate agents and in the expectations of those who hope to fulfill their “social destiny.”

The reality of the homes that the protagonists end up with is far from this ideal. The extension of the exteriors of these buildings and neighborhoods is quite different from what awaited the couples inside their homes. As subletters, Juan and Carmen are guaranteed not to have any intimacy, since their private life inevitably spills out into the common areas of their apartment and building. Once Antonio and Josefina finally move into their new apartment, the cramped interior of their home is a running joke throughout the film, including comments about the “sala de estar...de pie” and the maid’s room where she will have to sleep sitting up. Manolo, Antonio’s friend from law school, comes to visit them one evening, and one of his first comments as he enters their miniscule living room is “aquí estaréis siempre juntos, claro...y siempre solos...y siempre en el mismo sitio.” As the couple shows their friend around the house, they must move furniture, slide in and out of doors, and crawl on the floor in order to make room for each other. The apartment is tiny, cramped, and furniture and decorations obscure the characters from the camera, which tries to keep up with them as they snake their way among the rooms.

Not only are the apartments crowded, but they are also constructed of cheap material. The “mampostería pura” in *Esa pareja feliz* falls onto the couple’s heads when the landlord bangs on the wall to prove its strength. This gag is repeated in *La vida por delante*, although this time it is

not just paint that falls every time the front door is closed, but the actual plaster of the ceiling. In Antonio and Josefina's building, the elevator never works, the maid Clotilde must poke at the faucets for water to flow, and fixtures must be hit in order turn on the lights.<sup>29</sup> However, their structural problems seem minor in comparison with the apartment that Evaristo goes to visit in *El inquilino*. Though the salesman that shows him the apartment assures him that everything is very "fácil" and of the utmost quality, the new apartment literally falls apart as they walk through it. Evaristo wisely refuses to touch anything, and when things start breaking and the salesman keeps changing the price he quotes for the deposit and the rent, the reluctant tenant uses the excuse that the apartment is somewhat far away from town. The salesman insists that there are no longer distances and that transportation is no longer a problem, but as we know from Evaristo's long ride to the development, this also was patently not the case.

Though walls come down, the above comment by Manolo in *La vida por delante* ("aquí estaréis siempre juntos, claro...y siempre solos...y siempre en el mismo sitio"), takes on a new dimension when we realize that two people, forced into such a small space that they are always in the same place, are much easier to control than someone like Martín Marco in Cela's *La colmena*, subject of the next chapter of this project, rambling around the city with no known address. The supposed isolation promised by the real estate agent is compromised by the presence of neighbors, and becomes a factor in the Antonio and Josefina's relationship by breaching the boundaries that separate their interior living space from the apartments around them. This occurs from across the interior patio, as was mentioned earlier, or through the ceiling,

---

<sup>29</sup> In his memoirs, Fernando Fernán Gómez claims that the screenplay for *La vida por delante* was written as a satire of "la chapuza española": "Queríamos explicar que muchos obreros trabajaban chapucermanete, que casi nadie trabajaba por amor a la obra bien hecha, sino para salir del paso, para ganarse la vida, aunque su modo de mal trabajar fuese también en detrimento de los demás, [...] en fin, queríamos contar que todos éramos chapuceros y que así nos engaábamos, nos estafábamos unos a otros" (129).

by which the upstairs neighbor can relay telephone calls without having to repeat the conversation for the caller on the other end. Manolo may mockingly claim that the couple can spend all their time together and alone in their small living room, but their experience inside demonstrates that they are not by themselves, but rather constantly surrounded by other people.<sup>30</sup>

This claustrophobia is even more apparent in *El pisito*, in which physical boundaries no longer seem to matter and the supposed privacy of the home is unavailable to Rodolfo and Petrita simply because they do not have a home in which to be private. Whereas in *El inquilino*, *La vida por delante*, and *Esa pareja feliz*, the walls that separated the couples from the neighbors and city around them were either being torn down or too flimsy to be effective separators, Marco Ferreri's *esperpento* removes the physical separation entirely, leaving his protagonists no intimacy whatsoever. Part of the desperation that comes out in the characters' lives is due to the claustrophobia created by the constant presence of third parties in the scenes. Petrita lives with her sister's family in a single room, eight people crammed into a space meant for three. Ferreri replicates the feeling of crowdedness in nearly every scene of the film by including eavesdroppers and interlopers in the screen space. When two or more characters speak to each other, there is always someone else in the background listening, entering or leaving the filmic space, and creating a vivid sense of what Noel Burch called the "outerworld" of the frame. These random characters—including a mutilated man on crutches, a lame dog, a child who hovers next to Rodolfo while he eats ice cream, and a man playing music on an empty bottle—intervene in the film simply by being present in the shot and disrupting whatever it is the main characters are trying to accomplish. They also form part of a collective that represents something quite different

---

<sup>30</sup> The impossibility of finding peace and quiet at home intensifies in the sequel to this film, *La vida alrededor* (1959), in which Antonio looks for refuge at the home of a seductive former neighbor, not for an illicit affair as Josefina suspects, but simply in search of "tranquilidad."

from the solidarity we saw earlier in the epic quotidian films. Instead of cooperation with the protagonists, these outside observers are a reminder of the vigilance that is factor in nearly all the films and novels of this project.

In *El pisito*, the loss of intimacy within the collective has a devastating effect on the characters' ability to express themselves and communicate. Rodolfo, who is repeatedly asked to take responsibility for resolving his and Petrita's situation, is virtually powerless. In his job, he is constantly told "to speak up and talk like a man" by his boss, yet he is denied any raise that would allow him to buy the home that he and Petrita seek. Whenever there is some important business at hand, especially when the couple needs to make plans with doña Martina for the inheritance, it is Petrita who speaks. Even when she says, "Rodolfo tiene algo que decirle," he stays by the side, often stuffing his mouth with food and thereby making it impossible for him to speak for himself. These moments recall what Steven Marsh has called the non-discursive practices that are present in many comedic films of the 1940s and 50s. These practices are "activities of consumption [...] in which the consumer participates actively in a series of negotiations whereby power relations are mediated and occasionally transformed" (3). Rodolfo's passivity would seem to contradict this active participation, however, and all four of these films, in fact, include episodes in which the male lead's voice is either lost or impaired through food, alcohol, or medicine. The neighbor's interruption in *La vida por delante* is not the only instance of a protagonist losing his voice, and this comes through as a condition of the *vida moderna* of which that same neighbor spoke. The combination of a breakdown in privacy and the frustration of not being able to fulfill one's *destino social* by securing a home of one's own diminish the protagonists' productive role in society, or quiet them into accepting what they could have. The

implied viewer thus meets the implied resident in a passive, obedient position, dwarfed by the architecture around him or her, and at the mercy of political and commercial forces that build it.

## Conclusion

The concept of tearing down walls is usually taken as a positive outcome, one that brings people closer together and allows a greater sense of community among neighbors. The development of more housing, when driven by need instead of speculation, is also a desired public ideal, one that helps citizens establish themselves and take on a role among their neighbors. These two tendencies, however, also appear contradictory on the surface; tearing down walls and building new ones are opposite projects. There is also a contradiction in what tearing down walls can mean for the resident: more community may arise, but at the cost of individual privacy. As we have seen, the building boom that began in the 1950s had this double effect on everyday life. Walls were coming down, sometimes literally, but at the same time, larger, stronger walls were going up that separated people from each other by isolating them in the outskirts of town or keeping them out of the new buildings entirely. From the outside, the buildings were impenetrable fortresses, out of reach for many who could not afford to buy; from the inside, flimsy walls, cheap materials, and open configurations exposed the residents to each other. Rather than open communication channels, this exposure often seemed to limit communication, by causing a sense of intrusion into each other's lives and breaking up the privacy that one needs to feel comfortable at home.

The breakdown in privacy reaches its pinnacle in the original ending of Nieves Conde's *El inquilino*, where the line between private and public is left at a bare minimum. Unable to find another home for his family, Evaristo asks the work crew to move his furniture to a nearby street

corner, where they set up chairs, dressers and even picture frames into the reconstruction of an apartment. With no barrier between the home and the street, crowds gather around the evicted tenant, who sarcastically encourages them to peer into his new home, “donde todo es living.” In *la vivienda moderna*, he cries, one lives “sin casero, sin contribución, sin vecinos molestos y sin una sola gotera.” In this way, he echoes the sales pitches of the real-estate agents that have appeared in all four films. Even here, on the streets, isolation is deemed possible and desirable. The camera quickly reveals the irony in Evaristo’s words, however. The workers arrive with the doors from the building they have been demolishing, and arrange them in a circle around the family’s new “home.” The last shot of the original version of the film is a high-angled crane shot, looking down on the family. The camera first moves to the right, exposing the traffic of cars and people that continue to bustle around the family’s *vivienda moderna*.<sup>31</sup> This shot graphically reveals the most fragile and permeable of boundaries between private and public to appear in these films: the only thing standing between the family and the traffic of the street is a flimsy screen of doors.

This very literal exposure of the loss of privacy caused by changing architectural models reveals an intriguing relationship between space and film that developed as these “dissident” films became more concerned with everyday life. These personal films turned away from the

---

<sup>31</sup> In contrast, the revised version of *El inquilino* changes the relationship between family and city, and once again plays on the vertical trope that places citizens at the feet of the immense buildings around them. This “incongruous” ending (Larson 134) has Marta arriving at the last minute with the children and news that she has located an apartment for them in a new development called “Barrio de la Esperanza.” This version ends on a crane shot that pans across the neighboring skyline in a view that recalls the film’s opening credits. However, unlike those credits, and unlike the original final shot, both of older neighborhoods near the city center, this final shot is composed of new buildings, apparently of the type in which the family has now found a home. These are modern constructions, towers of about ten stories each, arranged in a “domino” configuration with room for expansion beyond them. The final shot takes the viewer above the housing below, reminiscent of the vantage point to which Juan and Carmen were privy from their rooftop and from the stalled Ferris wheel. In this case, however, it is not the citizen who rises above his surroundings. Rather, the steady, privileged aerial view belongs to the government and the housing industry. In this ending, not only does the family find a home, but there appears to be abundant housing for everyone. No one in this vision of the city would have to end up living on a street corner, when there are so many recently built, modern, spacious apartments to be had.

space of the epic films of the 1940s and 50s by showing the tension that existed between what was promised as an ideal home and the reality of housing practices. That tension, however, was hardly relieved by this exposure, even if it was done in a humorous way meant to please audiences. Rather, by portraying domestic space as the battlefield between ideal and reality, these films had as much to do with reinforcing the ideal as it did with tearing it down. The situations that were portrayed in the housing films of the 1950s (and would continue in the 1960s, in such films as García Berlanga's *Plácido* [1961] and *El verdugo* [1963]), though ridiculous, grotesque, and sometimes *esperpento*, were actually addressing a reality that was just as unavailable to everyday citizens as was the epic space of the historical and *folclórica* that were creating the hegemonic version of Spain's society. The ideal, isolated, private home was never achievable. Though these films have largely been read as dissident, they were not tearing down any ideal either. By putting "una cámara delante de Usted," the realism of the films transformed the home into a semi-public space, one where individuals had little power and were at the mercy of the collective. As the regime desired, the domestic realm was converted into a collective space for the nation, but it was based on an individualization that left citizens exposed.

As we shall explore in the next chapter, this exposure of the home can be considered the next step in a process that had begun in the previous decade in another urban space, its streets. By flashing back to the 1940s, we can examine the disciplining of public space that was almost a prerequisite for the vigilance of the collective that we have just seen affect the home. Before Madrid could be altered physically through the relocation of residents and the construction of new housing, it was transformed politically by increasing vigilance, and therefore control, of its public space.

## 2. A Wandering Man: Fragmentation and Discipline in *La colmena*

*Aquí, Madrid, entre tranvías  
y reflejos, un hombre: un hombre solo.*  
— Ángel González

The hive-like structure of Camilo José Cela's *La colmena* allows the author the flexibility to place his characters in a multitude of locations throughout postwar Madrid. One recurring setting is a *casa de citas* run by a doña Celia, the widow of don Obdulio Cortés López. Don Obdulio's portrait hangs in the room where lovers come to spend afternoons together, away from the curious eyes of parents, neighbors, and wives: "don Obdulio, desde un dorado marco purpurina, con el bigote enhiesto y la mirada dulce, protege, como un malévolo y picardeado diosecillo del amor, la clandestinidad que permite comer a su viuda" (310).<sup>1</sup> When a father unexpectedly meets his daughter in the stairwell leading to doña Celia's, don Obdulio's portrait becomes an active part of their particular story line. First, the father's lover threatens to expose the daughter's secret relationship by sending the portrait to the girl's house. Her boyfriend, in turn, resends the photograph to the father, with a note accusing him of activities that could be persecuted under the *Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas*:<sup>2</sup> "Muy señor mío: Ahí le mando la foto que en el valle de Josafat podrá hablar contra usted. Ándese con tiento y no juegue, pudiera ser peligroso. Cien ojos le espían y más de una mano no titubearía en apretarle el pescuezo. Guárdese, ya sabemos por quiénes votó usted en el 36" (386). These exchanges reveal the true nature of don Obdulio's

---

<sup>1</sup> All page numbers and direct quotes from *La colmena* refer to the Asún and Sotelo Vázquez edition (Clásicos Castalia, 2001).

<sup>2</sup> The *Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas* was passed near the end of the Spanish Civil War, in February of 1939. It outlawed political parties other than the FET y de las JONS and persecuted all those that may have "complicated" "el triunfo providencial e históricamente ineludible del Movimiento Nacional." The law could be applied *retroactively* to October 1934 and was not repealed until 1966 (Díaz Gijón et al. 45).



portrait: rather than protect the “secrecy” of his widow’s clients as the narrator claims, the man’s image watches over the couples who come in search of privacy. The *casa de citas* was expected to be a discreet, protected place that would provide refuge for what could be considered deviant sexual activity (i.e., an unmarried couple and an adulterous couple). In this case, however, those activities are compromised because of the threat of political repercussions that would have very real ramifications in the postwar years of 1940s Spain.

Like the nosy neighbor who intervened in the couple’s argument in *La vida por delante*, which was examined in Chapter One, the shift in function of don Obdulio’s portrait from bedroom decoration to the instrument of political blackmail illustrates how even the most intimate of places can be transformed into a disciplinary space. Whereas the previous chapter highlighted how shifts in housing trends in the 1950s affected the boundary between private and public space, the case of don Obdulio in *La colmena* illustrates how that boundary was threatened by the mixing of the political into the personal in the immediate postwar, a period of much more direct repression. Though the war had literally knocked down many of the physical walls between the interior of homes and the exterior streets, the regime’s project of controlling every aspect of its citizens’ lives looked for more subtle ways of breaking that boundary. In this sense, this chapter serves as a sort of flashback to the previous one, as we look back to a disciplining of the streets that would help make the disciplining of the home more fluid. Once vigilance is expected, and even accepted, in the public sphere, it easily spreads to the private. As don Obdulio demonstrates, when personal connections proved as threatening as official ones, anonymity could no longer be counted on as a protection against the attention of the authorities. The panoptic design of the regime —result of the war and the desire of authoritarian control—

brought forward a disciplinary structure that was based on fragmentation as a tool for weakening the collective masses and making individuals more susceptible to state repression.

Like the political system that worked to legitimize itself in the eyes of the public while also keeping it under control, Cela's novel disciplines its characters through a technique of fragmentation. The separation and segmentation of space—in the novel and in Spain—had two primary results. First, the masses are virtually absent from the novel, as they were from the National Catholic vertical organization, leaving a social model based on the individual rather than the collective. This social model is evident both in the city, which was refigured under the new regime to make it impenetrable to the masses, and in *La colmena* itself, which takes on a complicit function to the regime by replicating the urban fragmentation. Second, the fragmentation of space leads to isolation, and also to certain negative spaces—the voids, gaps, or non-places of the city—that offer the potential of evading the power of the state. I argue that even those spaces, however, in a time such as the hard, postwar *años del hambre*, fall far short of offering any type of refuge to those who wander among them, because they too form part of the dominant disciplinary structure. Fragmentation's pieces leaves gaps that are just as disciplined as the spaces where the presence of the state is obvious. Through the figure of Martín Marco, one of the main characters of Cela's novel, I explore the possibilities and limitations of benefiting from one's anonymity in a society in which identity is so closely tied to the space that one frequents or inhabits.

In my interpretation, Cela's novel, which he claimed was “un pálido reflejo, [...] una humilde sombra de la cotidiana, áspera, entrañable y dolorosa realidad” (Asún 145), emerges as a representation of the disciplinary structure of the early postwar years. The issue of complicity in Cela's novel may at first surprise, since so many editions of *La colmena* and studies of the

novel have characterized it as critical of the regime, mostly due to its realism.<sup>3</sup> However, as Javier Cercas has argued in the case of Cela's earlier novel, *La familia de Pascual Duarte*, to consider the Nobel winner a dissident voice in the 1940s is "sarcastic," since the author was a recognized adherent to the Nationalist movement, and "el único antifranquismo que existía en España estaba enterrado, en el exilio, en el monte o callado!" (Cercas). In the case of *Pascual Duarte*, the narrative complicity lies in the textual reproduction of the pre-Civil War chaos that the regime used to legitimize its uprising after it had won the war. As I will develop here, *La colmena* also makes the reader an accomplice to the regime's control of space, and of its population, by recreating the disciplinary structures that were ideal to the regime.

As mentioned in the general introduction, my use of the terms "space" and "place" in the context of disciplinary Madrid in this chapter and throughout this project follows the conceptualization of these terms in the tradition of humanist geography: "place" can be defined as "experienced space," or space with a memory. Whereas space implies the unknown, place is familiar. As the unknown, space carries with it not only the promise of new experiences but also the threat and vulnerability of being out in the open. Because of that threat, human beings search for the comfort of place. Space provides room for movement, yet the stability of place offers a chance for pause and refuge. These differences do not mean that space and place are exclusive, however. On the contrary, they are both integral parts of human experience and one is necessary for the recognition of the other: "Human lives are a dialectical movement between shelter and venture, attachment and freedom" (Tuan 54). Furthermore, distinctions between space and place break down in the context of Franco's Madrid. While "space" may offer the prospect of freedom

---

<sup>3</sup> For example, Jorge Urrutia stresses that Cela "supo [...] irse separando de la España oficial y escribir unas obras críticas" and that *La colmena* "resultó demasiado crítica y derrotista para el gobierno del general Franco" (12). Echoing Cela himself, Asún assures her readers that *La colmena* is the first Spanish novel "que se enfrenta sin paliativos [...] a la realidad de la sociedad española de postguerra, áspera, entrañable y dolorosa" (20).

and “place” the comfort of protection and familiarity, we cannot assume that either one connotes an escape from the discipline that Foucault termed a “microphysics of power.” As the example of don Obdulio’s portrait reveals, under the pressures of institutional control, the intimate nature of place is devalued because places lose their privacy and therefore become less personal. It also makes space and place less and less distinguishable because no location can fully “belong” to any one individual. Thus, place has the potential to lose its quality as refuge and becomes as vulnerable as open space.

In this way, both space and place are tied to a third type of space, a concept developed by Marc Augé in relation to the human geographers and known as the “non-place.” Like the other two spaces, non-place does not refer to any absolute space, but to the “degree of sociality and the symbolization of a given space” (viii). For this study, I am most concerned in the way non-place is “a space which cannot be defined as relational, historical, or concerned with identity” (63), because this absence of history might lead to the possibility of evasion within the strict structure of Franco’s and Cela’s Madrid. I am aware that Augé’s concept is most commonly associated with what he calls *supermodernity*, which he characterizes as being made up of “three figures of excess”: overabundance of events, spatial overabundance, and the individualization of references (33). While I think that the Madrid of *La colmena* might exhibit some “spatial overabundance,” I do not mean to treat Madrid anachronistically and claim that the city exhibits the same characteristics as Augé’s supermodern, globalized networks. However, I do see that the treatment of space by the regime can strip its citizens of their identities in a similar way that non-place does. Furthermore, in a city that was as segmented as postwar Madrid, these places, spaces, and non-places were disciplined and could serve as a method of keeping track of even the most anonymous individual.

## Mechanisms of Discipline

As I emphasize throughout this project, the disciplining of Madrid during the dictatorship was manifested in the physical reconstruction of the urban landscape. “El nuevo sistema político decidió, ante todo, que Madrid debía purgar sus culpas: era preciso borrar un siglo de ‘liberalismo urbano’ y rescatar a la ciudad abandonada a la ‘injuria de las hordas’, en manos de los ‘estratos ínfimos del pueblo’ que la habían convertido en un ‘emporio de pavorosa suciedad’” (Juliá, Ringrose, and Segura 547). Madrid as a city was in many ways treated as a criminal that had to be made accountable for its crimes, and made to repent and to conform to the Spain that was part of the new regime’s vision. Plans were drawn, streets and avenues were laid out, and a new imperial architectural style replaced the buildings that had been bombed out during fighting or left deteriorating. However, most of the architectural transformation of the city would not begin until some time after the war, when private initiatives were encouraged by the administration and had a profound effect, especially in the housing market.<sup>4</sup> The Madrid of *La colmena*, on the other hand, is the city of the immediate postwar and of the ideological transformation that would punish the capital for its “sins” as the seat of liberal Spain. Before the migration and industrialization boom of the 1950s, before rebuilding had properly begun, and before the physical space of the city could be altered, the regime focused its efforts on transforming it politically. A psychological change was needed on the segment of population that had been against the Nationalist uprising. Physical repression and violence was one method utilized to keep the masses in order,<sup>5</sup> but the regime also employed more subtle organizational

---

<sup>4</sup> On the *problema de la vivienda*, see Chapter One.

<sup>5</sup> The Franco regime’s direct repression of large parts of its population has been the subject of much historical work in the last ten years, including research done by Hispanists such as Paul Preston (*The Spanish Holocaust*, 2012) and Helen Graham, and Spanish historians such as Julián Casanovas and Ángel Viñas.

methods to incorporate the populace within its national project. In Chapter One, we saw how the goal of homeownership could affect behavior by creating expectations that citizens could rarely fulfill. In the 1940s, a similar manipulation was enacted in other ways, including two that I will highlight here: work ethic and hunger.

Urban discourse of the 1940s was dominated by a fear of the suburbs and of population growth that would lead to conglomerations of people within the city center that could manifest whatever displeasure they might feel towards the new regime (Juliá, Ringrose, and Segura 553). According to the historian Antonio Cazorla Sánchez, the regime claimed to integrate former enemies, particularly landless peasants and the working class, to embrace its cause. Inherent in this integration was the separation of two kinds of “former enemies”: “the perverse, defeated republican leaders, and the good, ordinary, Spaniards who had been led astray by foreign ideologies and perverse politicians” (43). Those “good” Spaniards were the workers that the regime now needed as labor to sustain its project of autarky. However, since “worker” held a negative connotation for the right because of the proliferation of labor rights during the Republic, official rhetoric avoided that term and replaced it with “producers” (Cazorla Sánchez 43). Those producers would quickly be integrated into a strict hierarchy that was designed to serve the state.

The *Fuero del Trabajo* was passed in 1938, before the end of the Civil War, as one of seven “Fundamental Laws” of the *Movimiento Nacional*. The *Fuero* was the first important piece of social legislation passed by the regime and was modeled on the Italian fascist *Carta del Lavoro* (Labor Charter). Faithful to early Falangist principles, the *Fuero* spoke of a “single and vertical” syndicate that would organize all “branches of production hierarchically under the direction of the state” (Payne 298). As part of this vertical hierarchy, the *Fuero* defined work (*trabajo*) as “la participación del hombre en la producción mediante el ejercicio voluntariamente

prestado de sus facultades intelectuales y manuales, [...]” (I.1). However, since the right to work was placed in the wider frame of “la economía nacional” and “el deber impuesto al hombre por Dios,” it is hard to believe that a person’s labor was actually “voluntary.” Production as a whole was “una unidad de servicio a la fortaleza de la Patria y al bien común de todos los españoles” (“Fuero” Preamble). What this meant was that everyone was expected to have a productive role within the hierarchical structure of society, and that role would be upheld and enforced by the state. This hierarchy did not automatically help the “producer,” however. Wages were kept low,<sup>6</sup> and movement up or down the ladder depended more on politics than on production. Once placed within the hierarchy, producers were assumed to conform to the expectations of good behavior that permitted them to maintain their position: respect for authority, not disrupting public order, and following official channels.

Conformity was also easier to uphold when citizens had very material necessities on their minds, and none was more pressing than the need for food. In Chapter One, I observed that home ownership diminishes the likelihood of violent social uprising because owners have some stake in their property. Likewise, as Cazorla Sánchez points out, while people are focused on food and bills, they have no time to think about political alternatives (81). This use of hunger as a political tool brings to mind the way in which housing would later be used as a mechanism of manipulation. When citizens are focused on a problem that has an immediate effect on their wellbeing (e.g., food or shelter), they have little energy to spend on uncovering and overturning the political structures that control those problems. Though the country was no doubt devastated during the war, food and resource distribution remained uneven afterwards. Autarkic policies

---

<sup>6</sup> According to Cazorla Sánchez, real incomes dropped 66% between 1935 and 1945. He claims that this too was partially due to the politics of the *vencedores*, who imposed lower wages because they resented the Republic’s pro-worker labor laws and policies (9).

mixed with an inefficient rationing system to create the misery that is still referred to as the *años del hambre*. Furthermore, the worst hunger occurred in the earliest years of the decade, the period in which *La colmena* is set.

The system of rationing through which the regime severely limited the amount of basic goods available to households remained in effect until 1952.<sup>7</sup> While the rations left most people suffering from insufficient nutrition, this economic intervention was circumvented by all those who could, beginning with the producers, who farmed less, or hid parts of their harvest (Juliá 151), and ending with those consumers who devised ways of working the system by using ration cards of dead relatives (Eslava Galán *Miedo* 87). Between these two figures were legions of small- and big-time “businessmen” who had connections and knew ways of getting around the government controls in order to sell goods on the black market, known in Spain as *estraperlo*.<sup>8</sup> That black market was also propagated by individuals who sold their surplus rations to others who needed or valued them more. Though poverty was extreme, the markup on these goods could be considerable. The widespread complicity of those who took advantage of the system for their own personal gain therefore had a direct effect on their fellow citizens: their corruption and selfishness left the rest of the population hungry, and therefore more absorbed by their own personal situation than any possible collective action.

Though it may appear contradictory, production and hunger both played a disciplining role in postwar Spain, especially in the cities. The former kept people “in line” because they had defined roles in the hierarchy. In a word, the hierarchy brought order to the workers, who, in the

---

<sup>7</sup> For example, in 1940, the weekly ration per person might be set at 300 grams of sugar, 1/4 liter of oil, 400 grams of garbanzos, and one egg. This quantity was adjusted weekly and announced in the press. Sometimes each person could receive an extra 100 grams of meat, or an extra egg (Eslava Galán *Miedo* 87).

<sup>8</sup> Don Roque, in Nieves Conde’s film *Surcos* (1951), is just this type of *estraperlista*. I will return to *Surcos* in Chapter Three.



vision of Falangist thinkers, had been unorganized and unproductive under the pro-worker policies of the Republic; if workers were out in the street protesting, they were not producing. For its part, hunger had an opposite effect, for it caused divisions among people and left them to fend for themselves. Production and hunger are therefore additional mechanisms of discipline that function through fragmentation, a fragmentation that runs parallel to the segmentation of physical space that was also affecting Spanish cities in the postwar. From within this segmented space, Madrid could seem less a fortress than a prison, a collection of men and women isolated from each other, each in his or her individual cell. It is fitting, therefore, that the structure of *La colmena* be segmented, or fragmented, because it allows us to see the effect that the fragmentation had on the city's residents, as it separated them from each other and tied them to certain locations. Nevertheless, fragmentation also has the sometimes-undesired effect of creating gaps, cracks, and voids where certain figures can operate. As we shall see, Cela left these gaps in *La colmena* and allowed one character, Martín Marco, to stand out from the collective and explore the possibilities of evading the disciplined space.

#### Metaphors of Order: The Creation of Space in *La colmena*

Since *La colmena*'s first edition of 1951, most subsequent editions of the novel have included a *censo de personajes*, originally compiled by the poet José Manuel Caballero Bonald, an early reader and critic of the novel. The list includes nearly three hundred characters and historical figures that appear in the novel, the clear majority of whom are named as well as identified by detailed personal information that serves to both distinguish characters and reveal the links between them. Yet the need for such a census points to one of the major difficulties encountered by the reader of the novel: specifically, how to keep track of so many different individuals. This

experience of reading is fundamental to the functioning of the novel. Its action takes place over a clearly defined time period, in a specific area of Madrid; however, its structure of interrelated vignettes and its scrambled chronology disorient the reader. As the novel progresses, certain characters become more distinct, and more familiar, but the overall effect of the fractured structure and the sheer number of characters is for the majority of them to pass quickly in and out of the reader's attention. In this sense, even if initially identified, many of the characters' names serve little identifying purpose within the plot, and most of them become essentially anonymous. However, anonymity may not matter within an organization that is set up to afford the reader a panoptic vision of the city/text.

To understand how Cela builds his novel's space, we must first acknowledge the principal metaphor of the novel: the hive. More than a story, his novel is an environment, a habitat. The fragmented story lines, spread throughout and intertwined in seemingly unconnected vignettes, presents a structure<sup>9</sup> that is reminiscent of a beehive's comb, made up of individual worker bees toiling in their separate cells. Each bee has its function, and in order to be a productive hive, each member of the hive must perform that function. The presentation of the limited time and space positions the reader at a privileged vantage point, coinciding with that of the narrator, and, not coincidentally, with that of a beekeeper who can keep watch over his hive. The reader, in this sense, becomes an accomplice of the surveillance machine. The attentive reader's gaze will hold the hive of characters in order to confirm that each one fulfills his or her role within the system.

Cela likened the structure of his novel to the inner workings of a clock, a system in which individual pieces work together and influence each other to make the entire mechanism move.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> See Dougherty, Durán, Foster, and Sobejano ("Olor," "Prólogo," *Novela*) for comments on this narrative structure.

<sup>10</sup> Cela described the structure as, "múltiples ruedas y piecitas que se precisan las unas a las otras para que aquello marche" (qtd. in Sobejano, *Novela* 76). The clock can be linked to the ideals of the Futurists, an early

If a clock and a beehive were ordered systems, why not a city, and especially, why not a city like Madrid, which had been so leveled by the bombs of war that it was considered a blank slate where the nation could simultaneously “pay for its sins” as capital of the Republic and regain its glory as center of an empire. Of all the things that the precision of a timepiece could signify, a functioning system would be most appealing to those sectors of society that had undertaken a rebellion against a legitimately elected government that it considered chaotic and weak. The Civil War was begun under a rhetoric of order, law, and glory, common tropes of authoritarianism that react to uncertainty with efficient violence. Like the hive, in which every bee completes a function so that the entire colony can reproduce and survive, and the watch, whose pieces fit together to create the precision necessary to keep something as uniform and as rigid as time, so too does the authoritarian regime try to control its every piece and turn the city into a mechanistic, dehumanized utopia. The beekeeper, the watchmaker, and the dictator (not to mention the novelist) must look over their systems to make sure everything fits. Novel and city thus work together. Rather than the “pálido reflejo” of the city that Cela claimed his novel to be, it emerges as an ideal city within the ideological boundaries of fascism that adheres to a strict hierarchy.

I would like to link the idea of a system, understood and controlled by both author and reader, to the postwar society in which the action of the novel takes place. The reader’s/author’s position above the society can be related to the ideological mechanisms that control that society. A dictatorial regime such as Franco’s, which attempted to control every aspect of its citizens’ lives, would wish to be able to identify those citizens and know where they are at all times.

---

twentieth-century artistic movement that championed the industrial age, the machine, and technology and that was quickly linked to the Fascists in Italy, and in turn, to those in Spain. Its presence in the Fascist aesthetic would fit in well with the mechanistic, dehumanized utopia of the Fascist city.

Cela's structural technique, then, can be read as an accomplice to that panoptic desire of control. Every character, through name or identifying information, is known to the power "above," and although the action occurs simultaneously and without apparent order, it is still under watchful control, still within a system that is reduced in space and time.

In order to combat the anonymity caused by the fragmented narrative and fleeting appearances of characters, the reader of *La colmena* must rely on other clues that help distinguish the novel's protagonists. It is for this reason that space is so closely tied with the identities of many of the characters. In the novel's complex narrative, each of the hundreds of characters has his or her "place," a location that is related to each character and which plays an important part in the elaboration of his or her personality. Many characters are never seen away from their primary place, and many places are in turn identified by the characters that occupy them (e.g. *el café de doña Rosa, la casa de doña Margot, el bar de Celestino*). The reader expects the action concerning certain characters to happen in their associated spaces, and likewise, any action that occurs in a certain place will include the characters that "belong" there. As the different locations of the novel's world become more established, so too do the expectations of the reader towards the selection of characters that will appear in those spaces. Space therefore becomes a device that classifies the characters beyond the simple use of their names.

This spatial taxonomy is additionally useful to the reader, who must piece together a virtual map of the novel's geography. This "character geography" must not be confused with the physical geography of *La colmena*, which corresponds to Madrid's map and is clearly identifiable thanks to Cela's meticulous naming of the streets and neighborhoods in which the action of the novel takes place. The microcosm of Madrid portrayed in the novel is reducible to three or four *barrios* in the city's center: the Barrio del Refugio, located in the triangle between

San Bernardo, Gran Vía and Fuencarral, and the barrios de Ibiza and Salamanca, to the east and north, respectively, of Retiro Park.<sup>11</sup> After the first chapter, which takes place almost entirely in Doña Rosa's café, the action moves to certain recurrent bars, residences, businesses, and brothels that begin to form a constellation in the mind of the reader. These places can be considered, in the lexicon of Kevin Lynch, as either "nodes" that bring characters together or "landmarks" that serve to orient the reader and help form the complete mental picture of the landscape of the novel. As Dru Dougherty points out, the repetition of these locations and the confluence of certain characters within them give the sense that the space in which the novel takes place, rather than being a large city, is rather that of a small town, where neighbors know each other and people run into each other anywhere in the street (14). The microcosm of the novel is created by the repeated appearance of certain places, which are made more present because the action that takes place within them is fragmented along with the novel's structure. This fragmentation results in the reappearance of spaces that often are the setting of only one scene, yet are presented to the reader repeatedly and therefore are more prevalent in his or her image of the novel's world.

As a reaction to the difficulties of postwar Spain, the residents of *La colmena* go about their daily lives as they can, without any real hope for the future or much thought for the past. Robert Spires has noted that the fragmented and scrambled temporal structure of the novel causes the reader to experience the same timelessness that afflicts the novel's characters ("Creative" 873). For Gonzalo Sobejano, the novel entails but one slice of an endless cycle of humiliation, poverty, boredom, sex, and concealment ("Olor" 112). Therefore, spatial elements take on an added importance, as a counterweight to the repetition that dominates the characters'

---

<sup>11</sup> See Asún, Sherzer, and Pérez Moreta for further descriptions of these neighborhoods.

daily lives. As Manuel Lacarta puts it, “La ciudad, el Madrid de 1942,<sup>12</sup> se convierte en un gran café, protector recinto cerrado, desigual, infinitamente cambiante, indiferente, tierno o acusador. Y es ese Café quien sirve como refugio —y como mirador—, como huida frente a la miseria cotidiana, como lugar único al que acudir y donde poder dejar que transcurra el tiempo” (138). Not only the café (doña Rosa’s café), but also every place that these characters frequent has the potential to be a refuge —at least from their point of view— from their daily routines.

The landmark locations that become refuges for the characters serve several functions from the reader’s vantage point. First, the result of the constant naming and locating is the ability of the reader to follow the action of the novel, rather than to get lost among the chaos of the whole. The intricate architecture of the narrative demands much of the reader, who must pay attention in order to realize the connections among characters that appear in vignettes and chapters pages apart from each other. The pattern is established during the first chapter, within one steady location, doña Rosa’s café.<sup>13</sup> From this point on, the reader becomes accustomed to the technique and is able to focus on the characters that reappear and the places where they do so. Furthermore, the multiplicity of vignettes and locations allows one of the innovative traits of the novel to arise: that of presenting the story of a collective group rather than focusing on a limited number of individuals to carry the plot. As Sobejano has argued, the structural elements of the novel (i.e., concentrated time, reduced space, collective protagonist) bring the masses of the city to the reader (*Novela* 81); how else could the author effectively present nearly three hundred characters at once, if not by intermingling their stories to show them occurring in a reduced time and space? In this sense, it is not surprising that some faces might get lost in the crowd.

---

<sup>12</sup> Lacarta, like Cela himself in an early note, places the action of the novel in 1942. However, as has since been pointed out, historical events mentioned in the final chapter, such as the Teheran Conference and Roosevelt’s visit to Malta, prove that the action takes place in 1943. See Asún (24) for clarification.

<sup>13</sup> Only one segment, concerning Leoncio Maestre, breaks the spatial unity of the first chapter.

Nevertheless, in order for the ordered systems of the city and the text to function efficiently, each of their parts must work and produce, and this means that individual units take on as much importance as the collective whole. If disciplinary force is meant to break down the collective into its individual parts, *La colmena*, through its structure and content, illustrates the fragmentation of the collective in postwar Madrid. For while *La colmena* is often thought of as a *novela colectiva* because of the sheer number of its characters and its fragmented story, the truth is that the collective, as mass, never appears in the novel at once. Unlike the collective masses that were the subject of Ortega's, and Adorno's and Durkheim's scorn and suspicion in the 1920s and early 30s, and unlike the unruly masses that appear in Soviet, Italian, and even Spanish (as we shall see) films of the 1940s and 50s, the "faceless masses" of the city do not appear in *La colmena*. Rather, the only "faceless" anonymity of the novel appears on a very personal scale, for individual characters. Sandwiched between these two periods of mass movements (the anarchists of the pre-war period, and the migrations and initial manifestations of unrest in the later Franco period), the immediate postwar stands as a period of individualization and isolation. The shock of the war, enforced by censorship, food shortages, economic autarky, and fascist rhetoric and repression, subdued the populace, so that its only reaction was a de-politization and an introversion. Thus, the hive, which has so often been interpreted as a collective unit, is in *La colmena* more a collection of *individual* units, each focused on what is immediately before and around them, without a vision of the larger world (Ingenschay 126). The novel's characters therefore embody doña Rosa's exhortation in the opening line of the novel that the only important thing in life is to "let us not lose our perspective,"<sup>14</sup> a perspective that is completely dependent on their role in the system, which is in turn determined by their place within it.

---

<sup>14</sup> Her exact words are, "No perdamos la perspectiva, yo ya estoy harta de decirlo, es lo único importante" (159).

### Martín Marco, Forced Flaneur

Due to the importance of perspective throughout the novel, I find it possible to examine this supposed *novela colectiva* from the point of view of one of its most prominent individual characters. The character that comes closest to being the novel's protagonist, Martín Marco, has no stable physical space that may be used to identify him. He becomes prevalent in the reader's mind because of his repeated appearances, yet within the structure of the novel, since he is never associated with just one place he appears to evade the panoptic control of the state. His lack of *identifying place* intensifies his lack of *identity*, granting him the ability (and in some cases, the necessity) to modify his personality depending on the situation in which he finds himself.

Several critics who have made Martín the center of their studies have questioned his qualifications as protagonist,<sup>15</sup> but the fact that he appears in every chapter, serves as a common link among many of the other characters, and is the focus of its open-ended conclusion gives him enough importance and presence to stand out as the predominant character. During the three days that comprise the action of the novel,<sup>16</sup> the reader is aware of Martín's movement throughout the city in a way that does not occur with the other characters. In fact, Martín's roaming is one of the devices that help the action flow, even among vignettes that do not directly concern him. As Martín moves, so do the stories concerning many of the other characters, until all of them

---

<sup>15</sup> David Henn notes that neither J.L. Alborg nor Santiago Vilas consider Martín to be the protagonist of the novel (142). However, Henn does concede that no character is "more important" than Marco. José Ortega, on the other hand, clearly states, "Martín Marco debe ser considerado como el protagonista central de *La colmena* por ser el que de una forma más clara y completa ejemplifica los problemas de orden ético del autor" (92). According to David Foster, Martín is the "vertebra for a novel which to many critics seems to be the invertebrate novel without equal," and "any thematic analysis of *La colmena* would have to consider Marco as an important point of departure" (80). For Manuel Lacarta, "Poco a poco Martín, el eterno derrotado, el bohemio por necesidad, se va convirtiendo en ese personaje entorno al cual se configura la imagen plural y única de un Madrid desesperanzado y errabundo" (139).

<sup>16</sup> Chapters 1-6 occur over two days and one night, and the chapter titled "Final" takes place on a third, separate day. See Dougherty, and Sobejano ("Prólogo"), for discussions of the temporal structure of these days.



converge on him in the novel's final chapter. He is, within the system of the novel's beehive, a wandering peon who appears to have no clear role in the organization. The prominence of Martín in the reader's consciousness is ironic, though, when compared to his characterization as a homeless wanderer who proves elusive for the authorities. Because of this presence, Martín does indeed have a role: though he is often invisible, he serves as a guide to the reader's gaze, a character who makes other characters visible.

Cela establishes the theme of Martín's anonymity beginning with the first chapter, as the narration jumps from customer to customer in doña Rosa's café, one of the principal settings of the novel. Most of these characters have their own back-story and are identified by name, but among them is "uno de los hombres, que, de codos sobre el velador, ya sabéis, se sujeta la pálida frente con la mano —triste y amarga la mirada, preocupada y como sobrecogida la expresión" (184). Rather than identifying him by his name, this man is singled out, by the narrator and by doña Rosa herself, because he cannot pay for his coffee, and he is subsequently expelled from the café. The narrator insists, with a touch of sarcasm, that "el hombre no es un cualquiera, no es uno de tantos, no es un hombre vulgar, un hombre del montón, un ser corriente y moliente" (185). However, in this initial chapter, his identity is based not on his name but on his poverty and on his disheveled appearance. Soon, he will be identified as Martín Marco, but the same anonymity in the face of authority that makes him vulnerable to the waiter and to the owner of the café will continue to be one of his dominant traits.

Due to his constant, aimless wandering through the city streets, Martín initially seems to represent the tradition of the flaneur, "the loafer, usually a young man, who walks the streets with no great urgency, seeing, looking, reflecting" (Wood 48). Martín appears most at home in the streets, like the flaneur who idly strolls along the streets observing the people and shops that

he encounters (Benjamin *Baudelaire* 37). If, as is claimed when he is first introduced, Martín is not “un hombre cualquiera” and rather a writer and an intellectual, his wandering would afford him the perfect opportunity to observe Madrid. In this way, he would serve as a surrogate for the author, the role ascribed to the flaneur by James Wood: “[The flaneur] is essentially a stand-in for the author, is the author’s porous scout, helplessly inundated with impressions” (48). The appearance of this “authorial scout,” according to Wood, is linked to the rise of urbanism in the mid-nineteenth century and the amount of detail that arises out of “huge conglomerations of mankind” (48). Martín would appear to be in an ideal position to observe the city because he is the character who most transcends the boundaries between neighborhoods and whose storyline appears to be the loosest. Throughout the novel, he is the one who is least linked to specific locations precisely because he rarely seems to have any set destination and his movements appear to be more determined by chance encounters than by the objectives that drive other characters’ stories. In this way, the flaneur is not only a stand-in for the author, but also for the reader, who sees the city as he sees it, meandering from one place to the next. The verb most associated with Martín’s wanderings, *vagar*, expresses the imprecision of his movements and the overall absence of ambition that marks his attitude. However, as we shall see, this type of aimless wandering proves to be a liability for Martín because it positions him outside the mechanism of production that was integral to the regime’s vision of work.

As a flaneur, Martín would not need a specific place with which to identify, because his identity would be tied up with his main activity: wandering. However, Cela does not use him in this way. Certainly, there are moments when the author places Martín in front of shop windows (a classic setting for a flaneur), or uses him as part of a metonym for everyone that has passed along the same streets or sat on the same park benches as Martín does (Sherzer 255). In these

moments, Martín's position triggers some of the richest passages in the novel and the multitudes of the city come alive in ways that they are never actually present (there are no true "crowd" scenes in *La colmena*). Unlike a true flâneur, however, these observations do not normally come from Martín, but rather from the voice of the narrator. Martín is extremely self-centered and not very concerned with or aware of what goes on around him. His perspective, as it were, is limited by his condition, so it is the omniscient narrator who comes through in the novel as the dominant voice, the beekeeper who controls his hive.

Martín falls rather short of his initial appearance as a flâneur and cannot stand up to this role in either the narrative or in the community of which he is part. According to Wood, the narrator "*is at once a kind of writer and not really a writer. A writer by temperament but not by trade. A writer because he notices so much, so well; not really a writer because he is not expending any labor to put it down on the page, and after all is really noticing no more than you or I would see*" (Wood 55, emphasis in original). Martín's failure in this is ironic, actually, because he supposedly *is* a writer, and therefore a natural stand-in for the author, and a character that we would expect to be most sensitive to his surroundings and eager to capture their details. Though a flâneur may never have to put what he notices on a page (that is what the author is for), there is a disparity between what we are told Martín does with his life (everyone from his past that he meets says that he's a poet; in the final scene, he dreams of finding a day job that will allow him some spare time to write), and what he actually does when we see him in the novel. Though he may be, in theory, a writer, and he moves about more than any other character, his perspective appears to be just as limited as the rest of the characters.

Why, then, does Martín disappoint the reader as a guide through the microcosm of the hive? One of the main reasons that Martín cannot be considered a flâneur is because his time in

the streets is more often due to some external force rather than a conscious desire to be there. Martín roams the city streets because he does not have a set place to stop. The closest place he has to a “home” is a cot in a broom closet where his friend allows him to sleep under three conditions: that he never ask for money, that he never bring guests, and that he be out of the house between nine a.m. and eleven p.m. every day (252). He is not technically homeless then, but he is somewhat of a vagabond: destined to wander around Madrid and to come into contact with other characters. This is a false freedom, however, for Martín does not wander for pleasure. He is not out in the streets by choice, enjoying a stroll in which he avidly observes all the curiosities around him. Rather, his attention is completely focused on simply making it through the day and fighting off the cold and the hunger. Martín’s flaneur-like lack of urgency is hardly brought on by curiosity, but rather forced upon him, as a result of his lack of productive space within the community.

Martín’s lack of a steady home casts him out into the city streets, where he is confronted with not only the cold of winter—a factor of which the reader is constantly reminded—but also to the simultaneous vulnerability and prospect of open space. He does seek refuge, either in public establishments or with family and friends, but he is never truly welcomed by his closest relations; for one reason or another, he is told to leave those places and is pushed back into the streets. From the very beginning of the novel, when he is ejected from doña Rosa’s café, we see that not only does Martín lack a home base of his own, but furthermore, his supposed places of refuge also prove to be fleeting and contingent on conditions that he does not meet. Therefore, rather than having the freedom to move around, Martín is instead trapped as a wanderer, unable to come to rest at any place that would offer him some regularity and protection, in contrast to other characters who can afford to have their homes, their places of work, and their tables at

cafés and bars. The verb I mentioned earlier, *vagar*, does not fit into the efficient work ethic of the regime. There cannot be any room for wandering when everyone must have his or her designated role. As a vagabond, Martín is outside the mechanism of production and therefore rejected by those who are inside.

This situation actually begs the question of origins: does Martín lack a productive role because he does not have a physical space in which to develop it, or would he first need a productive position in society in order to establish a physical space for himself? His wandering keeps him from being a productive part of society for several reasons. First, his supposed profession, writer, is impossible to realize if he is constantly on the move —writing is a stationary activity. We are told that he sometimes spends his mornings in certain public buildings because they give him shelter from the cold and a hard surface on which to write, but we never actually see Martín write anything. As contrast, the figure of the young poet Ramón Maello, who sits writing in doña Rosa's café in the first chapter, only to faint and have to be taken to the WC because he is thinking too hard for a rhyme with "río." When Martín is announced or recognized as a writer by his acquaintances Nati or Uruguay, he shows some shame in his work —he doesn't like to say that he still writes verses (308). This declaration is often related to his lack of money, and when he meets his friends during these three days, in several situations he leaves them with borrowed funds. Martín is not a productive member of society, and along with that, he does not have a productive space. That position is made all the more complicated because of Martín's precarious legal and economic situation. While the flaneur actively searched for anonymity among the crowded streets in order to observe them from the inside (Benjamin 48), Martín's anonymity constantly pushes him outside. The places he visits belong to others, or he

must pay to access them, and when he cannot pay, he is almost always thrust back into the street.<sup>17</sup>

David Henn has noted that “The overall impression gained of Marco is that of an underfed and dissatisfied intellectual, prone to aggression and self-pity, who assumes the role of conscience of his society” (145). However, Martín does not have an established position from which to express that conscience, and he is powerless to enact anything that could possibly result from it. His activity as an “intellectual” is seriously hindered by his lack of a place to produce, which furthermore denies him the money that would give him access to the leisure spaces that could allow him to come to rest. He is almost completely dependent on the charity and goodwill of others (his sister, his friends, the bartender Celestino, etc.), but he is equally reticent at being reminded of that reliance (Henn 144). In his mind, he is a forward-thinking intellectual with a moral conscience much more advanced than those around him. The narrator, in a somewhat mocking tone, tells us that Martín has vague political ideas: “A Martín le preocupa el problema social. No tiene ideas muy claras sobre nada, pero le preocupa el problema social” (225). This concern is mainly for the inequalities between rich and poor, but one gets the sense that Martín feels this way because he is on the poor end of the economic spectrum. In an early scene in the novel, Martín is looking into the luxurious windows of a bathroom supply store, marveling at the fancy water faucets and toilet bowls. As it did for the flaneur of nineteenth-century Paris, the streets offer commercial goods through brightly lit shop windows. Martín does not have access to these goods, however; out of his economic reach, he dreams of being able to use them, but they serve mainly as a reminder of his poverty. He wanders, and most of what he observes makes him very conscious of his own position in society, a position with which he is greatly dissatisfied

---

<sup>17</sup> The one exception to this may be Doña Jesusa’s brothel, a space to which I will return in a moment.

and therefore prone to refashion, in pretense, depending on whom he encounters as he roams. Martín has neither a productive role in society nor a physical position from which he could develop one, so his actions are an almost constant effort to overcome that lack and establish a place from which he could create a steady social role.

Furthermore, one of Martín defining characteristics is his “persecution complex,” manifested as a noticeable paranoia and self-perception as the victim of others’ mistrust, selfishness and spite (Henn 145). An example of this suspicion is his reaction when he runs into Nati Robles, an old friend from college, and fails to recognize her: “Martín mira con cierto miedo a todas las caras que le resultan algo conocidas, pero que no llega a identificar. El hombre siempre piensa que se le van a echar encima y que le van a empezar a decir cosas desagradables; si comiese mejor, probablemente no le pasaría esto” (306). Nati Robles was involved with Martín in the F.U.E. —*Federación Unversitaria Escolar*— a left-wing student movement during the Republic. Martín’s association with this group would make him susceptible to persecution by the government under the *Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas* of 1939 (Asún 451). Because of this now-risky political past, Martín’s paranoia may not be completely unfounded, especially given that his homelessness and constant rejection push him to an exterior, public space that does not belong to him or to anyone else.

This attitude may be warranted, however, in a postwar society that actively repressed and persecuted dissidents. Paul Ilie termed this the “inner exile” that characterized a large portion of the population that remained in Spain after the war. According to Ilie, territorial exile and residential exile (by those who remain in a place after a war but who do not agree with the ideology of the group in power) result in similar types of alienation: “both types enact the pattern of expulsion from home followed by dreams of lost order and harmony, and both types are

condemned to wandering” (51). Although he remains within Madrid and within a community of acquaintances and family, Martín feels separate from them and in some senses, superior. *La colmena* shows only fleeting hints of the tensions that led to the Civil War. It is much more concerned with the results of the war, and the *años del hambre* that followed. Accordingly, in Martín we have a man whose convictions are never presented completely clearly and whose pride is contradicted by his actions; he is not close to anyone, but nor do we get the sense that anyone wants to be very close to him. His interests and thoughts are usually focused on whatever is most beneficial to him. However, at the same time, the inner exile brings about a “passivity and a semi-impotence” (Ilie 57) that is very evident in Martín throughout the novel, and especially strong when he is alone in the city’s public spaces.

In Martín Marco, rather than a conscientious, relaxed flaneur, we find a writer and poet who does not write and who is forced to spend his days wandering suspiciously through streets that he looks at with contempt and distrust. Rather than serving as a stand-in for the author, Martín’s insularity and self-absorption, brought on mainly by fear, do not allow him to observe much of the world around him. Though he prides himself on being enlightened, he has a rather limited perspective, and in actuality he cannot see far beyond himself. Martín may move from cell-to-cell when he visits his acquaintances, but he is never able to break out of his own cell. This has to do with the fact that his exile (both his inner exile, as disaffected after the war, and his forced wandering during the day) is not of his choice. We learn in the final scene of the novel that Martín, when feeling most inspired, wishes to get a steady job that would allow him some extra time to write. We know that without a steady home or a stable place to come to rest, Martín’s wandering prohibits him from being the writer that he wants to be. His status of “forced flaneur,” rather than broadening his vision, actually limits his perspective to his own experience



because he is too worried about himself to pay attention to anything going on around him.<sup>18</sup>

However, something else happens to Martín while he is wandering: though he may not produce anything as a writer, we do see that he is capable of *writing himself*. That is, he creates and adapts his personality according to the places in which he finds himself and the people whom he encounters.

### The Spaces of Martín Marco

Because he has no home, and because he is forced to keep moving, Martín Marco is the character that most clearly moves between “space” and “place.” As described above, place can be considered “experienced space,” or, in other words, space with a memory. By looking at Martín’s movement through the Madrid of *La colmena*, we can follow him as he passes from space to place, in search of refuge from his constant wandering. As he moves along the city’s streets, into and out of places that might give him some chance of rest, the reader discovers the extent to which access to supposedly free and open spaces as well as intimate places can be limited. Ultimately, because he is denied a place of his own, he must inhabit unclaimed spaces as well as the places of others. The unstable nature of the space around Martín causes him to experience it in different ways throughout his constant exile. In contrast to the paranoia that he feels during the day, Martín is portrayed as quite at ease in the abandoned streets of nocturnal Madrid:

---

<sup>18</sup> Diana Taylor has coined the term “percepticide” to refer to the “self-blinding of the general population” that occurs under a violent, dictatorial regime. While Taylor develops this within the context of Argentina, it can also be applied to Franco’s Spain. According to Taylor, “To see without being able to do disempowers absolutely. But seeing without the possibility of admitting that one is seeing further turns the violence on oneself. Percepticide blinds, maims, kills through the senses” (123-24). Martín Marco does not witness any violence against anyone else, but his limited perception, as I am portraying it here, would fit into this model.

Martín Marco vaga por la ciudad sin querer irse a la cama. No lleva encima ni una perra gorda y prefiere esperar a que acabe el Metro, a que se escondan los últimos amarillos y enfermos tranvías de la noche. La ciudad parece más suya, más de los hombres que, como él, marchan sin rumbo fijo con las manos en los vacíos bolsillos —en los bolsillos que, a veces, no están ni calientes—, con la cabeza vacía, con los ojos vacíos, y en el corazón, sin que nadie se lo explique, un vacío profundo e implacable. (358)

With the rest of the city asleep and indoors, Martín experiences the city without interruption from anyone and without the suspicion and unease that he feels around others. I find this passage very rich because this is one section in which Cela pauses, clears his canvas, and gives us one of the fullest images of the Madrid that envelopes his characters. I am reminded of the initial scene of García Berlanga's *¡Bienvenido, Mister Marshall!* (1953), when the voice-over freezes the action of Villar del Río's busy plaza and then eliminates the villagers from the screen in order to introduce the physical space of the town. In the case of *La colmena*, Cela "wipes the screen clean" by a more natural means, that is, setting the action at night, when the streets are empty except for Martín. His repetition of the word *vacío*, to describe both the streets and the character, drive home the emptiness of the postwar city.

This empty city offers the possibility of a blank slate. In this sense, it is not only the ideal space for Martín to travel through, it also reflects the utopian city of a space that has neither history nor memory. For a moment, the streets are wiped clean of the people that transit them during the day and Martín can wander as he pleases, without the pressure to enact a certain role. On a larger scale, the city that is wiped clean is the ideal fascist city. It has been de-historized

and de-socialized, so that all that remains is pristine, empty space, almost untouched by the chaos of urban activity.

Paradoxically, however, this is also one of the few moments in which the crowd appears in the novel. Cela writes, “A Martín Marco le gustan los paseos solitarios, las largas, cansadas caminatas por las calles anchas de la ciudad, por las mismas calles que de día, como por un milagro, se llenan [...]” (358). Though he is alone, in this scene Martín experiences the mirage of belonging and is the trigger for a metonymical list of every other person who has passed through this place on this day, and therefore represents the full presence of the city around him (Sherzer 255). However, this acknowledgement of a larger group of people is an exception. *La colmena* is, as stated from the start, a novel that has been repeatedly referred to as a *novela colectiva*, yet there are scant instances in which a crowd actually appears. There are none of the crowded plazas that one can see in films such as *Surcos*, or the Italian *Ossessione* (dir. Luchino Visconti, 1943). There are no scenes of the urban masses swallowing up particular characters, and Martín Marco is never confronted with the masses, never engulfed as part of a crowd. His disorientation and panic come from a one-on-one encounter with a police officer; his only moment of comfort comes from an intimate encounter with a sick prostitute. The *vacío* that Martín experiences as he wanders is as much about him as it is about the empty streets in which he finds himself.

It is quite fitting that this scene, and what will follow, take place in the “calles anchas” of the Barrio de Salamanca. We are told exactly which streets Martín takes to get to the Plaza of the same name, with its statue of the Marqués de Salamanca in its center. This was the first area of Madrid to be known as the *ensanche*, the first extension of the city beyond its seventeenth-century walls. In contrast to the chaotic web of streets that characterizes the old center of Madrid,

the Barrio de Salamanca is instantly recognizable on the map as the result of rigid urban planning. Its grid is reminiscent of similar sections of Manhattan, Chicago, or Barcelona, whose plans all date from the early to mid-nineteenth century.<sup>19</sup> It has since been one of Madrid's most aristocratic neighborhoods, and is a part of town in which someone like the disheveled Martín would stand out.

Martín's unease in the crowded streets of the daytime reflect his suspicion of strangers, but at night, as the above passage suggests, he is able to let his guard down regardless of being in the exposed empty streets. As he does so, the narration notes that he walks through these streets rather absent-mindedly.<sup>20</sup> This sense of security could be related to the fact that during the war, Franco had ensured that the Barrio de Salamanca would be spared from bombing, making the neighborhood a crowded place where citizens could feel safe, and even sleep at night (Preston 341). Ironically, though, when Martín is at his most relaxed, he is also at his most vulnerable, and it is during one such moment of relaxation that a policeman stops him and asks him for his documentation.

This, too, is fitting because the grid system of the Barrio de Salamanca is a clear example of the type of urban planning that disciplines space. A grid plan is effectively laid on top of the land, with little regard to the natural landscape that lies beneath. Rather than planning the city around existing physical and social configurations, a grid system is based on abstract space, in the Lefebvrian sense (Fraser "Narrating" 373). Furthermore, Cela's repetition of the *vacío* shared by the character and the city echoes the French theorist's notion of the *void*. For Lefebvre, the void is the space through which the state has always expressed itself; the "empty space, broad

---

<sup>19</sup> Construction of the Barrio de Salamanca was begun in 1857. Manhattan's grid plan is from 1811, Chicago's from 1830, and Barcelona's Eixample was designed in 1859.

<sup>20</sup> "Martín iba arrastrando los pies, iba haciendo ¡clas! ¡clas! sobre las losas de la acera. Es una cosa que le entretiene mucho..." (363).

avenues, plazas” of Haussman in Paris could only be done by institutions, which connote planning, and the state is the only one that can manage the type of planning that would result in the “dictatorship of the straight line” (*Revolution* 109). The state expresses itself through the void because it is the space that in planning gets designed. That is to say, the lines and zoning of the urban planning is what creates the space by delimiting —through roads, lines, areas, etc.— what can be allowed in each space. Within the limits imposed by the state, it is then left up to private citizens and companies to occupy the space with their daily —whether productive or leisure— activities. They fill that space with their own divisions, their own appropriation, usage of space, and activities, which are sometimes sanctioned, sometimes illicit, and often not taking any official limits into consideration. However, the negative space that is created by the zoning is the gaps where uncontrolled (though, also limited) action occurs, and it leaves space for self-invention. This is especially true for someone like Martín Marco, who happens to live in the margins.<sup>21</sup>

The streets, avenues and plazas where Martín continually finds himself are where he is most susceptible to encountering the state, which he indeed does, in a key sequence in which he is challenged to identify himself as a productive, legitimate member of society. In this sense, the disciplining of the city space is transferred to the disciplining of the citizen. When the officer asks Martín for his documentation, the reader already knows that Martín does not carry an identification card, since pages earlier he lit a cigarette butt that he carries, with other used butts, in an envelope sent from the *Diputación provincial de Madrid. Negociado de cédulas personales*. The narration explains that the *cédulas personales* were no longer in use at this time and that the government had announced “unos carnets de identidad, con fotografía y hasta con

---

<sup>21</sup> Today we might say “off the grid,” which would be more literal in this text.

las huellas dactilares” (360). The shift from an identification card issued by provincial governments (the *cédula personal*) to a national identification system (the *Documento Nacional de Identidad* or DNI, established on 2 March 1944 and still in use today), points to increased administrative authority by the national government. However, at this point Martín remains outside the system of control that the ID card represents. The envelope, like the cigarette butts inside it, was not originally his, but rather belonged to his brother-in-law. From the perspective of the state, with no identification card, Martín continues to be as “anonymous” as he was in the first chapter.

Likewise, from the officer’s point of view, as a representative of an authoritarian regime dedicated to controlling every aspect of its citizens’ lives, Martín’s lack of identification card and his resulting anonymity are a threat. This policeman is indeed one of the few manifestations in the novel of the direct presence of the authoritarian regime in the lives of the characters. José Luis Giménez Frontín has observed that within this encounter:

[...] todo el clima de represión política de la postguerra alcanza su mejor y más fiel retrato en ese miedo “irrefrenable”, “irracional” al encuentro con el Padre omnipotente, de un joven cualquiera que no ha cometido delito alguno y que sabe perfectamente que su inocencia no es garantía alguna de inmunidad. Porque, en las sociedades dictatoriales [...] de lo que realmente se trata es de que todo detenido es culpable por el hecho de haber sido detenido. (53)

Although he has done nothing, the only way for Martín to demonstrate his innocence to the policeman is by identifying himself. And lacking the official criteria of individual identity that the state requires of him, Martín must find an alternate means of establishing that he is not a

criminal or a threat to the officer's social order. In essence, he must invent himself and then sell himself to the authority figure. As a product of the disciplinary structure in which he lives, Martín must conform to certain categories that satisfy the authority's expectations of classification.

He quickly states "Yo soy escritor, yo me llamo Martín Marco" (365), using both his profession and his name. This means nothing to the officer, until Martín tells him that he writes for "la prensa del Movimiento," and specifies some of the provincial newspapers in which his articles have been published. The notion of empire implicit in his latest article, entitled, "Razones de la permanencia espiritual de Isabel la Católica,"<sup>22</sup> fits into the exaltation of Spain's glorious past that was typical of official culture of the 1940s, but is contrary to what we would believe to be Martín's political convictions, given the left-wing past that has been hinted at earlier in the narrative. We know that Martín's only productive source of income is as a writer, but in order to be published, he must compromise his beliefs and work from within the official media. Furthermore, in this encounter with the officer, in order to appease the representative of the State he must actually emphasize this concession. Martín's assurances to the officer that he is a loyal member of the cause, as well as writing those articles in themselves, amount to a certain role-playing on his part. Without documentation proving his identity, name and profession are not enough. And just being an *escritor* doesn't convince the policeman that he is any sort of writer who may be trusted. However, once he becomes a writer of the Movimiento, the officer is satisfied and he releases Martín, with the wish that "no se le quite la inspiración" (366).

---

<sup>22</sup> "El artículo coincide con la elegías del pasado glorioso que, en la prensa y en la cultura de los años cuarenta, asociaban el concepto de la hispanidad, un valor intemporal y homogéneo, al talante moral de los siglos de oro" (Asún 365).

Although Martín seems to be “outside the system,” he depends on being recognized as a member of that system for his own safety and survival.

It is not until the policeman lets him go that the severity of the situation hits Martín and becomes apparent to the reader, manifested in Martín’s violent physical (running and shaking) and emotional (panic) reaction to the encounter. This panic draws him towards a brothel run by doña Jesusa, a friend of his late mother’s. It is fitting that Martín find refuge among prostitutes, after he has essentially sold himself and his convictions in order to get away from the police officer. However, Martín’s flight from the officer to the brothel can be seen as the passage from one type of role to another, each based on differing criteria of identity. Even though he has no money, he is allowed to access the brothel because doña Jesusa recognizes him and knew his mother well enough to treat Martín “como un hijo.” Here, unlike with the policeman, a personal relationship matters much more than official identification.

Martín’s admittance into the brothel, followed by his actions once inside, bring to mind Marc Augé’s conception of “non-place,” a term that is related to the void. According to Augé, the person who accesses a non-place is permitted to lose him or herself in it, but only after an initial verification of his or her identity. The *casas de citas* and the brothels that appear in *La colmena* are just such places, made up of doors and barriers and identity checks that their patrons must pass in order to gain access. Furthermore, a brothel —like Augé’s airports, commercial centers, and refugee camps— is a transitory space, not meant for settling down or establishing any type of roots or history. A man enters a brothel in search of temporary and rapid sexual satisfaction. Upon entering, he is ushered into a space that is unconnected to what is going on outside, which permits him a certain level of liberation. Since brothels were legally permitted in



the 1940s,<sup>23</sup> Martín is entering a sanctioned space, where one is allowed to role-play and enjoy a special anonymity. In Augé's conception, he who enters a non-place:

[...] becomes no more than what he does or experiences in the role of passenger, customer or driver. Perhaps he is still weighed down by the previous day's worries, the next day's concerns; but he is distanced from them temporarily by the environment of the moment. Subjected to a gentle form of possession, to which he surrenders himself with more or less talent or conviction, he tastes for a while —like anyone who is possessed— the passive joys of identity-loss, and the more active pleasures of role-playing (83).

As he did with the officer, Martín does indeed role-play, but it is in contrast to many of the other situations presented in the novel. His experience sharply differs from the usual impersonal encounter of a brothel because of his intimate ties to doña Jesusa and her girls. In this way, place and non-place get confused for Martín, because he is able to enjoy the “passive joys of identity-loss,” but only after he is allowed to enter because of who he is. In its quality as a refuge from the cold emptiness of the streets and the threat of official vigilance, the brothel is as close to a home as he is allowed to have. Once Martín is admitted into the brothel, he is able to look for the warmth that is alien to him during his paranoid wanderings of the day. Though he depends on his identity to enter the space, once inside, he is able to discard the memory of who he is outside,

---

<sup>23</sup> “Prostitución pública” was legal and tolerated (hence the term *casas de tolerancia*) in Spain in the 1940s (Martín Gaité 102). When Martín goes to the brothel, he is actually entering a place outside the reach of the State to which he is susceptible and which he has just encountered in the streets. This helps explain Cela's presentation of the brothel as a warm and inviting place. As Giménez Frontín notes, “Cela representa todavía a la generación de españoles que encontraron—o dicen que encontraron—un cálido refugio sexual, amistoso e incluso sentimental en los burdeles, frente a una sociedad pacata de costumbres intolerantes que, precisamente por ello, los toleraba” (59).

and take on quite another role —a characteristic of the non-place that this brothel reproduces splendidly.

This is another instance of Cela using a specific space to transmit discipline. The narrator's voice is very clear that this is a moment in which Martín and the prostitute Pura do not feel any real affection ("Cuando falta el cariño hay que buscar el calor" [375]). Their role-playing is not at all sexual, especially when compared to the couples that secretly meet at another illicit site, doña Celia's *casa de citas* (Ventura and Julita, in their "forbidden" pre-marital relationship, and Roque and his girl, the adulterers). Instead, the result of their night together is for them to fall quite naturally into the expected category of a married couple. Once again, rather than fulfilling the role of unattached, anonymous dissident that he has the potential to be, Martín instead performs the traditional role of husband. In this way, the brothel emerges not so much as a place that is outside the control of Spain's traditional regime and hierarchy, but rather conforms to the ideals and categories of family that dominated societal expectations during the postwar.<sup>24</sup> The brothel performs a complementary function to the home and sustains its normality because it serves as an accepted place of catharsis. In this case, however, instead of reinforcing the home through a direct contrast, the brothel actually substitutes the home by replicating the emotional bonds of domestic space. The non-place of the brothel becomes charged with meaning for Martín, because he is able to take on a role, even though it is not the same role with which he entered. In fact, this is a rare instance in which Martín willingly accepts his identity as a poet. Whereas earlier, he was embarrassed when Nati or la Uruguaya asked him about his verses, here

---

<sup>24</sup> Studies such as Martín Gaité's *Usos amorosos de la posguerra española* and Juan Eslava Galán's *Los años del miedo* and *Coitus Interruptus* explore this moral sexual regime in depth.

he kisses Pura's eyelids "like a sixteen-year-old poet" (433) and then recites a stanza of a sonnet by Juan Ramón Jiménez.<sup>25</sup>

This moment, in which Martín openly recognizes his identity as a poet and writer, is an indication of his acceptance of his role within society even if he continues to lack a steady place from which to produce. These are the moments that move Martín towards being a more productive member of society, because they more clearly identify him within certain categories. His encounter with Pura also leads up to the open-ended final chapter of the novel,<sup>26</sup> in which his anonymity comes into conflict with a newly found optimism for his future as a writer. In the final chapter, he makes his way to the cemetery where his mother is buried. For the first time in the novel, a character will move outside the city center that has been the focus of the rest of the action. As he distances himself from that space, he begins to feel a freedom and an optimism that was not available to him in the city: "Martín nota que la vida, saliendo a las afueras a respirar el aire puro, tiene unos matices más tiernos, más delicados que viviendo constantemente hundido en la ciudad" (451). We shall return to the desire for the countryside's peace and pure air in Chapter Four and the youths of *El Jarama*, but for Martín, the transformation is quite profound, for it is here that he appears to assume his role as a writer more ambitiously than before. He asks for a newspaper in order to look at the classifieds, and begins to dream of settling down and finding a job in a government office, which might possibly leave him some extra time to write. In other moments, open space may have represented a threat to this character, but in this final

---

<sup>25</sup> Imagen alta y tierna del consuelo,  
aurora de mis mares de tristeza,  
lis de paz con olores de pureza,  
¡precio divino de mi largo duelo!

<sup>26</sup> *La colmena* was originally announced as the first installment of a trilogy entitled "Caminos inciertos." The following volumes were never published by Cela.

episode, when Martín seems to have gotten some perspective on his situation by temporarily being outside of it. Here, open space represents promise and prospect, not danger.

Of course, the irony of the final episode, like that of the night he met the police officer, lies in the fact that just when Martín feels most secure in himself and his in future, he is indeed most threatened. Though he appears to have entered another void that gives him some freedom, like the streets and the brothel, the cemetery is yet another disciplined space. The reader, and most of Martín's friends back in the city, knows that an *edicto* has been issued for his arrest, ironically in one of the only sections of the newspaper that he decides not to read while he is still in the cemetery.<sup>27</sup> The *edictos* were public announcements made by the courts in order to locate individuals wanted for trial but who had no known address (Asún 451, n. 5). Once again, without a residence, Martín cannot be located by the state, and while he remains in the cemetery and ignorant of the edict against him, he remains elusive to the court system that is searching for him. However, by moving out of the center of Madrid for his visit to the cemetery, Martín has also moved out of the range of his network of protectors (Henn 144). Not only is the court system unable to find him because of his lack of home address, he is now beyond the reach of his friends as well. In this sense, Martín's movement into open space, which on the one hand creates the possibility of fantasizing about a better future for himself, has also made him more susceptible to the power of the state and outside the protective refuge of his familiar surroundings. Martín will eventually be caught, proving that his anonymity and his ability to adapt his identity to fit certain roles ultimately do little to offer him any additional protection from the reach of the state.

---

<sup>27</sup> Martín's insistence at reading the news and features in the newspaper before reading the job announcements is part of what leads José Ortega to conclude that his intention of self-transformation is only "falso y pasajero" (94). The other section that is left unread is the listing of rationing to the *pueblos del cinturón*, a term that Martín finds amusing, but which signals an extension of Madrid that has yet to be recognized in the rest of the novel.

## Conclusion

Throughout all of these episodes, Martín's role-playing is exposed as a false freedom. While he may appear to be in an ideal situation to observe the city around him and fulfill his role as a writer, he is unable to do so because the spaces through which he moves force him to identify himself in other ways. In his wandering and in his encounters with acquaintances and with strangers, in which he has grasped at any opportunity of stability, Martín has been, in essence, trying to "write himself" as an integrated member of society, something that he is not. A writer without a place to write must first establish his place as a writer, as Martín attempts to do with the policeman. His next efforts are to attempt to create first a home, in the brothel with Purita, followed by a professional position, as he dreams of in the final episode in the cemetery. As an aimless wanderer, Martín Marco suffers the cold and hunger perhaps more than any other character, and it becomes clear throughout the novel that for all his "social conscience," he would gladly conform with a steady position, that is to say, a stable, defined place that would offer him some routine and a chance to rest. In his interaction with the police officer, and in his final burst of optimism, what he attempts to do is establish such a place for himself. He knows that in his present condition in the margins, no such physical place is available to him, so he must therefore focus on a social space, an accepted position in the community that could in the very least bring him some material comfort.

Martín would therefore seem to confirm the efficiency of the disciplinary structure of the regime. The spaces through which he travels, such as the streets, the brothels, and the cemetery, appear to be least disciplined, because they are either extremely public or, conversely, extremely private. Within the "hive" of society, these are the spaces that do not serve a productive function, and therefore we would expect them to be least regulated. However, Martín's fate —when he

returns to the city center, he will eventually be arrested, perhaps even betrayed by his brother-in-law, who believes that it is best for Martín just to turn himself in— demonstrates that there are no true gaps that offer liberty. The police and the *edictos* represent active mechanisms by which the state can make its citizens conform to its system, but in the case of Martín Marco, his self-disciplining is just as effective a limiting force. Within the categories that are expected of him, Martín is as trapped within the hive as are the characters in the novel whose vigilance and suspicion keep tabs on each other. Through all his aimless wandering, all Martín really wants to do is “organize himself” and become a productive member of society, yet he has no control over the situation.

Production would continue to be a key concept to the transformation of Madrid in the decade following the publication of *La colmena*. Now that the postwar city had been effectively disciplined, its citizens subdued into acceptable, docile bodies, the regime could turn its attention to a more physical transformation of the urban landscape. In order to legitimize its place as the symbolic center of the nation, Madrid had to strengthen itself productively, through industrialization. As a consequence, the desolate streets through which Martín wandered would soon begin to receive an onslaught of migrants from the rural areas of Spain that came in search of jobs and a the promise of a better life in the city. The arrival of migrants to the capital would become not only of supreme importance to city planners and administrators, altering the demographic, geographic, and domestic makeup of the city, but also to authors and filmmakers who used their art to question the policies that managed the capital’s evolution.

### 3. No Limits! The City in *Surcos* and *Los golfos*

*Madrid es una ciudad de más de un millón de cadáveres (según las últimas estadísticas).*  
[...]

*Dime, ¿qué huerto quieres abonar con nuestra podredumbre?*  
—Dámaso Alonso, “Insomnio”

The Dámaso Alonso verses above would be an apt epitaph for Spain’s capital in 1940, the year after the conclusion of the Spanish Civil War. However, the poem was not written in reference to those who died in the war, but instead was inspired by the news that Madrid’s population had reached one million *living* inhabitants (Ramoneda 262 n. 68). According to census data, Madrid’s population in 1940 was 1,088,647.<sup>1</sup> Those million cadavers were not the literal dead of the war, but the walking dead, more than one million inhabitants attempting to make sense of their recent past and rebuild their lives in a city that had been the center of some of the fiercest fighting between loyal Republican troops and the eventually victorious Nationalist soldiers led by Francisco Franco. By 1940, Franco was already past being the leader of an uprising army and was now established as the *caudillo* of an authoritarian dictatorship. Alonso’s “city of a million cadavers” was matched in population by Barcelona,<sup>2</sup> yet gaining political, economic, and social strength as the center of the new regime. Indeed, as Madrid’s influence on the rest of the nation increased, so did its attraction for hundreds of thousands more inhabitants, eager to join the “huerto” of Alonso’s poem in search of the food, jobs, and increased standard of living that the city promised. By 1950, the *cadáveres* of Madrid would number 1,618,435. In 1960, the city’s population was 2,259,366, and by 1970, 3,146,071.

---

<sup>1</sup> All population numbers taken from census data available on the website of the Instituto Nacional de Estadística, [www.ine.es](http://www.ine.es).

<sup>2</sup> 1,081,175 total inhabitants, in the 1940 census.

If the notion of more than a million cadavers inhabiting Madrid brings to mind sieging armies or zombie hordes overtaking the city, such an image is fitting for the way in which Madrid's growth differed from other urban expansions. As Fernando Chueca Goitia states,

Casi todas las ciudades irradian al exterior, se propagan en el campo circundante y lo van dominando y configurando. Es decir, la ciudad invade al campo. En Madrid, hasta cierto punto pasó lo contrario. Ese campo miserable, huérfano de toda protección, se rebela contra la ciudad y la invade. Madrid es una ciudad sitiada por su mísero pero agresivo cinturón rural. De aquí el difícil equilibrio que ha de sostenerse. (232-33)

The “invasion” of Madrid in the 1950s would continue a migratory trend that originally began in the 1860s, but which had been interrupted by the Civil War. The novelty of the post-war migration was that, for the first time ever, the pull of the city would overwhelm natural population growth in the country and therefore initiate a depopulation of rural Spain that belonged to a broader process of economic development. Even if the draining of rural land was in many ways a “peaceful surrender” (Collantes and Pinilla 6), however, the arrival of new inhabitants to the city was met with resistance, scorn, and hostility. Ironically, the worst hostility was often doled out by people who had themselves only recently arrived to the metropolis, fresh *cadáveres* that would alter the city just by becoming part of it.

This chapter seeks to explore the role of urban space in the social imaginary of Franco's Spain by analyzing and interpreting two cinematic representations of the demographic shift that altered Madrid's urban environment in the 1950s and converted the country into the predominantly urban society that it remains today. Migration has marked many periods of



Spain's history, including moves to the colonies of the Americas, exile during and after the Civil War, and the jobs of northern Europe beginning in the 1960s. More recently, in the late-twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, Spain has been the receiver of large immigrant populations.<sup>3</sup> However, the decade of the 1950s marks an important period of internal migration, as millions of people left their impoverished rural areas in search of jobs and opportunities in the cities. This may not be a specifically Spanish phenomenon,<sup>4</sup> but the period when this migration dominated the national scene would have a profound effect on the image Spain had of itself as an urban nation.

By questioning the experiences and traces of migration in the 1950s, we can see a larger shift in social and spatial values within Spain: as the regime moved away from the isolation of the autarkic 1940s and closer to the international community, it played down its early rhetoric of solidarity with rural Spain in favor of a model of urban citizenship that valued individualism and consumerism. This is a paradox, for as the nation became less "individualistic" on an international scale, its emerging modernity (with its accompanying wealth and consumerism), supported competition and individuality among its citizens. The new urban subjects, who could hope to look to family or friends for support, often found themselves abandoned by traditional social networks. Emotional familiar bonds conflicted with the abstraction of state planning that encouraged people to look out for themselves above all else. Additionally, those who came to the city in search of a better life were immediately confronted by the collective masses that filled urban space. If they were not able to understand and manipulate the urban landscape for

---

<sup>3</sup> Between 1998-2005, foreign-born immigrants made up 77% of Spain's population increase (Pereda et al. 63).

<sup>4</sup> Collantes and Pinilla call the decades after the Second World War "the great period of rural depopulation in Europe" (21). They find rural depopulation to be the dominant trend during this period in Spain, Italy, Poland, Romania, and France, while they write of "rural restructuring" in England and "upward stagnation" in Germany.

themselves, they were left on the margins of modernizing Spain, and quite literally lost among the crowd.

Within the urban-rural dynamic, Madrid held a privileged position within the social imaginary of the nation. This is closely tied to what Joan Ramón Resina identifies as Madrid's "abstraction," a term he uses to refer to the capital's separation from the rest of the country and its presentation in the social imaginary as "the true national referent and source of universally shareable value and prestige" ("Palimpsest" 64). While Resina traces this phenomenon back to Felipe II's establishment of Madrid as Spain's capital, abstraction would take on renewed importance after the Civil War. The city that during the war had stood for everything the Franco regime was against would again be accepted as the administrative and bureaucratic center of the nation, and also reestablished as its ideological center, thrust forward by city planners who highlighted its *capitalidad*.

Madrid's repositioning as the center of the nation included two movements, one physical and one psychological. The economic modernization that was part of Francoism's autarky needed an urban workforce that was willing and able to support industrialization. Until 1950, the pull from that industrialization had not been strong enough to cause much change in the rural population (Collantes and Pinilla 57). Once the project of autarky had clearly failed, industrialization grew even more, and drew the rural population away from the country and to the city. This affected urban space to the extent of causing great transformations in population and in the physical space that made up the urban environment.

The question then becomes whether the change in attitudes towards the city (i.e., changes in how the country and its citizens saw itself in the city and what expectations it had of its new urban life) drew people to migrate, or if, on the other hand, the migration and its physical

realities caused the shift in attitude towards what the city meant. That is to say, which came first, the physical movement from country to city, or the shift in popular and official discourse that placed the city in a more favorable position in the nation's social imaginary? It is my hypothesis that the impact of migration caused the larger shift in social and spatial values that now prioritized urban space over the rural space that the regime had promoted as the core of its values during the war and throughout the attempted autarky of the 1940s. Over the decade, this shift influenced the Spanish citizens who made the move to the city so that, even if they could not fully be at ease once they arrived, they would internalize the developing paradigm that held urban life over the rural and become part of a more modern urban model.

The migrant experience is central to two films of the 1950s, José Antonio Nieves Conde's *Surcos* (1951) and Carlos Saura's *Los golfos* (1959). Though migration is very explicit in the former, its implications and its maturation are evident in the latter, revealing an evolution that would span the time between the films' production. Both films also represent transitional moments in the history of Spanish cinema, and are the product of opposing ideologies, and thus form fitting bookends to the study of this period. I have chosen to study *Surcos* along with *Los golfos* in order to understand how separate groups of filmmakers<sup>5</sup> from apparently conflicting ideological backgrounds could produce two films that criticized the city in such similar ways. In my judgment, the answer lies in what they were reacting to: the city is a negative place in both films, and the reasons they saw it as negative have to do with the evolution of the city and the change in its position within the social imaginary. As old-guard (*camisa vieja*) Falangists, Nieves Conde and his collaborators saw the city as chaotic and out of control, threatening to their vision for Spanish society. For the young, liberal Saura, the city also emerges as a threatening place;

---

<sup>5</sup> I am referring not just to the directors, but to the screenwriters and collaborators who developed the films.

however, it is not because of its lack of control, but rather because of its excess of control. Both films play out their critique by examining the relationship among their protagonists, the physical space that surrounds them, the limits placed on their movement within the city, and the crowds of other inhabitants that clash with them to occupy and alter their experience of urban space.

### Social Imaginary, Urban Space, and Migration

When considering migrations, questions of space become entangled with the ways in which people see themselves in two different places: their origin and their destination. In 1950s Spain, one of the strongest tensions between spaces was a dichotomy of rural and urban, *campo y ciudad*. Taken from the perspective of the urban space, as I am doing here, the problem becomes one of adaptation to the city for the millions of migrants that arrived from the country. The physical move to Madrid, which was undoubtedly jarring for a majority of new arrivals, was accompanied by the psychological effects of discovering that, for the most part, the city was an unwelcoming place and that the reality of city life was far from the promises that had encouraged the move. Those promises came principally from two sources. First, this positive vision was more prevalent in an official discourse that found value in the urban space as the decade went on and the country became more urbanized and industrialized. Second, migrants were attracted to the city by a substantial network of family members and friends who had made the move at an earlier time. Though these networks often provided a support system for new arrivals, they could also be tested and transformed by the pressures of urban life. In many ways, *Surcos* and *Los golfos* show that the expectations that drove rural-to-urban migration were rarely met, and that even the expectations of established city dwellers were often frustrated.

Expectations are always important, because they are a factor in determining how people imagine their social existence and thereby form their social imaginary (C. Taylor 23). The films reveal how the urban subject struggles to accept his or her experience in the city even when, seen from the outside, those expectations are unrealistic. The image we get is of what the filmmakers believe the city has become, rather than what its new inhabitants wish it were. In these films in particular, the city puts pressure on the subject not just through presenting physical boundaries and limitations, but also through the addition of oppressive masses of other people. Space thus becomes constricting not only through physical limits, but because the available space is filled with faceless masses that are present in the city in ways that they would never be in the country.

Raymond Williams long ago showed that the country and the city have been placed in opposition since classical times. There has long been a desire to look back nostalgically at some “traditional” society that upheld a feudal and aristocratic order as a critique of capitalism. Williams identifies this as a characteristic of a “retrospective radicalism” that defends “certain kinds of order, certain social hierarchies and moral stabilities, which have a feudal ring but a more relevant and more dangerous contemporary application” (36). Reading Williams, a student of Spanish history cannot help but relate these more dangerous contemporary applications to the basic philosophy of the Falange, which had its own ideas about “certain kinds of order” and, within it, the desirability of the country over the city. Indeed, —though written posterior to the relevance of the Falange— one of Williams’s readings of the city could serve as a guidebook to the city of the Falangist imaginary: “This teeming life, of flattery and bribery, of organized seduction, of noise and traffic, with the streets unsafe because of robbers, with the crowded rickety houses and the constant dangers of fire, is the city as itself: going its own way” (46). If

not for the direct link between this description and a poem by Juvenal, one could easily mistaken this vision of the city as arising from *Surcos*.

Therefore, it is easy to see that by inherently emphasizing the city, the government policies that prioritized industry in the later 1940s and early 1950s could be interpreted by the old-guard Falangists as a betrayal by the Franco regime. The betrayal was a feeling experienced by many original Falangists that was not limited to or necessarily caused by urban policy. As Jordi Gracia has written, for the earliest and most ideologically established *camisas viejas*, their disappointment was early and painful: “El sentimiento del fraude fascista en la construcción del Estado estuvo, casi a la fuerza, en los fundamentos mismos del régimen allá por 1938. Lo que los fascistas doctrinales esperaban era el mando que no se limite a lo cultural o intelectual sino que abarque todo el ámbito del Estado y desde luego sin ceder territorios a *familias* de poder que no son falangistas” (238, italics in original). By the 1950s, the disillusion felt by the intellectual leaders of the Falange, —including Dionisio Ridruejo, José Luis L. Aranguren, and Gonzalo Torrente Ballester, one of the screenwriters of *Surcos*— could be seen in the social critique of their texts, including their films.

Placing the city at the center of the regime’s economic vision of the country meant a shift in spatial values that now promoted the city as a desirable space, over the rural lands that it had once so strongly endorsed. Doing so was clearly against the pro-rural stance that had guided the Falange since one of its founding documents, José Antonio’s *Twenty-Seven Points*, included among its directives the need to “elevar a todo trance el nivel de vida del campo, vivero permanente de España” (“El Programa” pt. 17) through economic and social reform of agriculture. Furthermore, from its most ardent anti-urban position, the Falange demanded “que se devuelva al campo, para dotarlo suficientemente, gran parte de lo que hoy absorbe la ciudad en

pago de sus servicios intelectuales y comerciales” (“El Programa” pt. 18). In the Falangist view, the rural sectors of the country (*el campo*) were clearly the producers (*vivero permanente*), while the city was indebted to the country for all that it produced, including its “intellectual and commercial” services.<sup>6</sup>

This sort of push and pull between the city and the country was integral to the thinking of Falangist sectors for as long as they remained in Franco’s government. For example, the *Fuero del Trabajo*’s “Declaración V” made specific mention of the rural sectors of Spain.<sup>7</sup> Especially relevant are points four and five:

4. Se tenderá a dotar a cada familia campesina de una pequeña parcela, el huerto familiar, que le sirva para atender a sus necesidades elementales y ocupar su actividad en los días de paro.
5. Se conseguirá el embellecimiento de la vida rural, perfeccionando la vivienda campesina y mejorando las condiciones higiénicas de los pueblos y caseríos de España.

The idea of offering each peasant family its own parcel of land was perhaps the most radical notion of the entire document (Payne 299), but coincided perfectly with the type of protection that the state claimed it needed to provide to the agricultural sector. Furthermore, it was fully compatible with the Plan Bidagor, which proposed “green zones” that would offer land to people arriving in the capital city.

---

<sup>6</sup> This sentiment was not restricted to Falangist thinkers of the twentieth century. For example, Resina points out that this is the main idea of Larra’s *La Nochebuena de 1836*, in which the essayist declares that “Todos aquellos víveres han sido aquí traídos de distintas provincias para la colación cristiana de una capital. En una cena de ayuno se come una ciudad a las demás” (“Palimpsest” 64).

<sup>7</sup> See Chapter Two for more background on the *Fuero del Trabajo*.

However, if the *Fuero del Trabajo* envisioned an idealized “familia campesina” farming some romanticized plot of land, the reality that administrators were dealing with a few years later would be multitudes of migrants that left the countryside and settled in the cities after the war. Unable, or unwilling, to trust the mass’s capability of maintaining its own order, planners, including the Falangist Bidagor, sought to impose limits on their growth and on their circulation. These limits correspond to the “certain kinds of order, certain kinds of social hierarchies” of Williams’s rural nostalgia.

As I have outlined in the introduction to this dissertation, the *Plan General de Ordenación Urbana de Madrid* (Plan Bidagor), sought to order the urban space of the capital in a manner that would protect its inner zone of *capitalidad* from the arrival of masses of migrants. Though industrialization attracted new residents with the promise of work and relief from the hardships of rural life, new arrivals were kept from accessing the heart of the city. Early initiatives had attempted to forcibly return migrants to their country homes, as police would “greet” trains arriving in the city and force their passengers to go back home if they did not appear desirable enough (Juliá, Ringrose, and Segura 566). This effort eventually proved futile,<sup>8</sup> but planners had the additional idea of creating a buffer zone around the center that would somehow “catch” migrants and keep them away from the center and in the surrounding towns. This space, the inner-most ring of “green zones” around the traditional center of the city, were in some instances vast swaths of land that could house up to 200,000 families, each with its own orchard, reminiscent of the “huerto” that figured in Alonso’s poem. The idealized rural space fell perfectly into anti-urban Falangist rhetoric: “El anillo verde es sólo un añadido con el que estos

---

<sup>8</sup> Hooper suggests that authorities could not keep up that fight, especially when some savvy residents of the Madrid shantytowns realized that this policy could offer a free ride back to their hometowns, when all they needed to do was “put on their scruffiest clothes, travel a few miles out of town and catch a train coming up from the south” (16).



urbanistas de después de la guerra evocaban los valores rurales, de pueblo sano, no contaminado, con los que pretendían purificar a la ciudad de morbos pasados” (Juliá, Ringrose, and Segura 556).

However, instead of settling in the suburbs, the migrants took what materials they could and they occupied the empty spaces of the green zone, creating a massive ring of *chabolas*, or shantytowns, that encircled the center of the city. Shantytowns outside large cities were not a new phenomenon; improvised housing had long been part of an urban landscape for the homeless and poor, but the migration of the postwar increased their size and population. The buffer zone worked, in a sense, because migrants would come to the center to work, if needed, but then retreat to the outskirts to live, effectively keeping the productive elements within the city when they were useful, but keeping their unproductive and “less desirable” members away. These shantytowns, sponges for the destitute, became prime targets for social reform. In 1957, Housing Minister José Luis Arrese was still addressing the need for “a greenbelt capable of substituting the dramatic ‘black belt’ of poverty and vice that the suburbs form” (qtd. in Goldsmith 340). Social groups, from the Church to the remnants of the Falange, to the more socially conscious architects that could develop low-income housing, made the eradication of the shantytowns a goal, and this space became a prime center of social and architectural experiment. When the shantytowns became unacceptable to the city planners, the land was re-appropriated and its residents were forced further away from the center, to cheaply built housing developments adjacent to the outlying villages.<sup>9</sup>

So, although the Plan Bidagor was set upon “establishing limits” and controlling Madrid’s growth in an orderly and “organic” manner, the realities of population growth quickly

---

<sup>9</sup> Housing, or rather, “the housing problem” is the focus of the first chapter of this project.

overwhelmed the planning. As mentioned above, the arrival of new inhabitants to Madrid was the resurgence of a migratory trend that had been cut off during the war. The 1940s saw a net gain of 225,000 inhabitants to the capital, and the 1950s a net of 412,000. This trend would continue in the 1960s, during which Madrid would gain more inhabitants than its total population had been at the beginning of the twentieth century (Juliá, Ringrose, and Segura 559).<sup>10</sup>

Conversely, between 1951-1970, the agricultural sector lost three million laborers, leaving only another three million behind in the early 1970s (of a total population of around 36 million) (Juliá 186). This combination of urban growth and rural depopulation effectively reversed the valuation of the agricultural ideal that had guided earlier city planning, simply because it overwhelmed it.

Madrid became the destination of choice for large sectors of the rest of Spain. While Barcelona was where many migrants from Andalucía and the Levante eventually would settle, and Galicians and the maritime regions of Asturias and Cantabria headed to the Basque Country, Madrid attracted migrants from the center of the country (Cazorla Sánchez 101). Certain economic factors, quite logically, provided the strongest “pull” forces that attracted rural migrants to the city. First, the extreme poverty of the *años del hambre* caused farmers and peasants from the rural regions of the country to flow to the cities in search of jobs and higher wages. This is of course one of the most common causes of migration anywhere, but as Collantes and Pinilla note, it had not always been the case in Spain. Before the Civil War, Spanish industrialization, which had begun in the late nineteenth century, was still not strong enough to induce large numbers of migrants to leave the country for the city (59). That is, natural rural population growth was able to keep up with the demand of labor in the cities, and population

---

<sup>10</sup> Trevor Goldsmith notes similar numbers for Barcelona during the same period. “Between 1950 and 1970, immigration had helped to swell the population of Barcelona’s municipality from 1,280,000 to 1,745,000 inhabitants. [...] In the rest of the metropolitan region, the population had exploded from 265,000 in 1950 to 968,000 in 1970” (339).

distribution remained rather stable. The three years of war put a halt to whatever substantial migration that might have been going on at the time, and the 1940s actually saw some reverse-migration, as food was more readily available where farmers could grow it for themselves than in the poorest regions of the post-war cities. The urban pull did not start to rev up again until the late 1940s and early 1950s, as slight deregulation opened up industry to private investment and the demand for labor could finally surpass the natural population growth, making the loss of population in rural areas finally noticeable. Furthermore, the poverty of the rural areas, increasingly augmented by agricultural policy that limited production (Collantes and Pinilla 65), now undid the attraction of the country, and left the city as the promised land.

The vast rail network that linked the capital with all regions of the country made reaching Madrid relatively simple, if not necessarily inexpensive.<sup>11</sup> Once arrived, many migrants found a strong network of family and friends that offered them some support: “The institution that made it possible to settle in these new suburbs was not the callous state but [...] the family. It was the best, and often the only, social security system, savings and loans, childcare, and housing scheme for poor people” (Cazorla Sánchez 101). Thanks to this network, which is evident in the distant relatives that take in the Pérez family in *Surcos*, new arrivals were able to find at least shelter and advice. Furthermore, this attempt at building up some sort of social capital could slowly work to strengthen the ties within the migrant community. Social capital, defined here as the connections people make, usually based on trust, that allow them to gain access to economic resources, is crucial to understanding the reasons why so many people were willing to move to the city in the

---

<sup>11</sup> The iconic credit sequence of *Surcos* makes it very clear that the Pérez family arrives by train: the camera, apparently mounted on the front of a locomotive, barrels through barren fields, parallel to the furrows that gave the film its name. Trains also play prominently later in the film, when El Chamberlain throws Pepe’s body over a rail bridge and onto some tracks, and in the original, censored ending, in which the family was supposed to take a train back to their home in the country, only to have Tonia jump off and attempt to make it back to the city.

first place, as well as the main parameters through which these films and novels critique the urban experience.

Planners may have envisioned Madrid one way, but social networks produced another city. One basic conclusion that arises from Lefebvre's spatial triumvirate (*spatial practice, representations of space, spaces of representation*) is that people's experience of space often does not conform to what planners originally intended. Because of the sheer number of migrants, the limits imposed by planners became much more about spaces and crowds than families and individuals. The abstraction of state planning turns individuals into subjects that are forced to conform or to rebel, but their individuality is often drowned out either way. As presented in *Surcos* and *Los golfos*, it is evident that the institutions that originally offer some semblance of social (and therefore economic) capital begin to break down soon after a migrant's arrival to the city. As *spaces of representation*, that is, products of the tension between planning and everyday life, these films explore how the individual subject struggles to maintain its separation from the crowd and find its own space.

### Cinematic Bookends

Both *Surcos* and *Los golfos* are generally recognized as landmark productions that signaled a new impulse in the thematic and technical ways in which movies were made, and form "bookends" to the period of neorealist influence in Spain that was highlighted in Chapter One.<sup>12</sup> When critics talk about neorealism in Spain, they usually point out that no such movement could flourish as it had in Italy, simply because the political circumstances in the Spain of the 1950s

---

<sup>12</sup> As noted in the first chapter, Italian neorealist films were available to people within the film industry thanks to private showings, such as the two "Semanas de Cine Italiano" held at the Instituto Italiano de Cultura in 1951 and 1953.

was so different than the Italy of the 1940s.<sup>13</sup> Clearly, the regime was still in power in Spain, whereas Mussolini's regime had ended during World War II. More important perhaps was the very active and vigilant censorship that controlled the Spanish film industry.<sup>14</sup> Neorealism in Spain therefore often comes down to thematic qualities of the films, by which people mean that some films began dealing with "everyday life" rather than the "official vision" of historical and folkloric dramas that characterized the 1940s (Heredero *Huellas* 290), much like Italian neorealism is often contrasted to the "white telephone" dramas of its fascist period. In this sense, *Surcos* is usually considered the first example of the influence of Italian neorealism in Spanish cinema precisely because of its social conscience and its exploration of the conditions of the lower class.<sup>15</sup> *Los golfos* appeared eight years later, after the shakeup of Spanish cinema that was marked by the *Conversaciones de Salamanca* in 1955.<sup>16</sup> Like *Surcos*, Saura's first feature film marks a turning point in Spanish film history because it presented a mix of neorealist aesthetics—impoverished, marginalized setting, shot on location—with innovative narrative techniques that would presage the *Nuevo cine español* of the 1960s.<sup>17</sup> Principal among these techniques are abrupt cuts between scenes that left the scenes open and disconnected in a way that was

---

<sup>13</sup> Primary among scholars of neorealism in Spain is José Enrique Monterde, who has *Surcos* in mind when he writes, "Pero ni siquiera en los casos más conspicuos de interés proto-neorrealista —pensamos en Bardem y Berlanga, aunque también en el Nieves Conde de *Surcos*—podemos hablar de un neorrealismo 'a la española', ya que las circunstancias contextuales resultaban muy diferentes; [...]" ("Continuismo" 280).

<sup>14</sup> Saura claims to have sent the script of *Los golfos* to censors four times, until the censors gave up and said, "Do whatever you want, we'll do the cutting" (Willem 4).

<sup>15</sup> "The film's novelty and challenge lie in the unmitigated presentation of the sordid aspects of Madrid under Francoism (unemployment, lack of horizons, inhuman housing, criminal exploitation)" (Resina "Palimpsest" 69).

<sup>16</sup> For a full history of the *Conversaciones*, see Nieto Ferrando and Company Ramón, *Por un cine de lo real: cincuenta años después de las Conversaciones de Salamanca*.

<sup>17</sup> Saura insists that many of the stylistic innovations, such as the jump cuts, were a result of economic necessity rather than a polished artistic intention: "Lo que nos interesaba eran los supuestos económicos y la formación de equipo, y la experiencia de un cine un poco marginado de todo lo que se consideraba en España cine profesional. Entonces, *Los golfos* es bastante diferente de lo que son las primeras películas de Bardem y Berlanga, que son mucho más acabadas. Nosotros improvisamos mucho, muchísimo, fue un rodaje donde el esquema básico del guión se respetó muy pocas veces [...] Ya digo que el rodaje era prácticamente producto de la improvisación, porque teníamos muy poco dinero y era imposible llevar un plan de trabajo riguroso, porque la mayor parte de los sitios en los que íbamos a rodar, en el momento del rodaje no estaban preparados, o así. Todo fue un poco sobre la marcha" (Brasó 63).

uncommon in Spanish film until then. As we shall see, these narrative jumps<sup>18</sup> were closely linked to Saura's creation of the film's space.

The historical contexts in which the films appear are also relevant to the way they were accepted by censors and audiences. *Surcos* is an expression of the frustration felt by Nieves Conde and his fellow old-guard *falangistas*, including the film's writers Eugenio Montes and Gonzalo Torrente Ballester, at the regime's initial appropriation and subsequent rejection of their ideals and of their *Movimiento*. By 1950, the regime's newfound emphasis on industrialization and urbanization, coupled with restrictions on agriculture that had severely limited rural production during the 1940s, resulted in a "rightist authoritarian system flavored with fascist rhetoric" rather than a revolutionary fascist state (Payne 347).<sup>19</sup> The Falange's original exaltation of the countryside, as detailed in the *Twenty-Seven Points* and further developed in the party's rhetoric and propaganda, faded as the party lost influence in the government in the late 1940s and early 50s. To early members of the Falange who had seen their movement as "una revolución nacional" that would use a direct, ardent, and combative style to achieve "la conquista del Estado" ("El Programa" pts. 26 and 27), concessions to other parties and the integration of the Falange with other segments of the regime was seen as betrayal on the part of Franco.

The year of *Surcos*'s release, 1951, was also the year of an important reshuffling of Franco's cabinet, one that, for many, signaled the first move away from autarky and towards a more liberal economy. Opening the country to the international community meant emphasizing industrial capacities and therefore turning away from the autarkic idealization of a rural golden

---

<sup>18</sup> The cuts between scenes in *Los golfos* are related to but not identical to the jump cuts between shots (not scenes) that form one of the hallmarks of the French *Nouvelle Vague* of Godard, Truffaut, Renais, and Chabrol.

<sup>19</sup> Payne's history of the Falange provides essential data for contextualizing the disillusionment felt by intellectual *falangistas* at the marginalization of their revolutionary program. Jordi Gracia's *La resistencia silenciosa*, mentioned earlier, is a masterful study of this process from the point of view of those authors.

age that privileged agriculture over commerce. This slight liberalization would further disillusion the Falangist old-guard, since it resulted in a relaxation of migration laws and an increased demand in labor in the major cities that prompted the huge migration to the city that is the subject of Nieves Conde's film. In a similar way, 1959, the year of *Los golfos*' release, was also the year of the *Plan de Estabilización* by yet another altered Franco cabinet. The men in charge at this time were mostly Opus Dei technocrats whose plan went far beyond the steps taken in 1951 to liberalize the economy. Through a combination of currency stabilization, relaxed tariffs, and trade balances, the *Plan de Estabilización* was in large part responsible for the economic situation that would allow the boom of the 1960s.

The treatment of the two films by government agencies illustrates the contradictions that lay within the Franco regime, through the struggles they set off between its different factions. In 1951, *Surcos* was chosen as one of six "Películas de interés nacional" ("National Interest" films). Along with the title came considerable distribution rights, a subsidy for its production studio, Atenea, and confirmation as one of the films that most lived up to the ideals of the regime.<sup>20</sup> This award almost immediately caused a scandal, especially since the "National Interest" label had not been awarded to that year's most obvious propaganda epic, Juan de Orduña's *Alba de América*.<sup>21</sup> On the one hand, the Catholic Church deemed *Surcos* dangerous because of its depiction of an amoral society. On the other, its central conflict, between an idealized, uncontaminated rural world and a dirty, materialist city was well in line with Falangist thinking,

---

<sup>20</sup> "La codiciada categoría de 'Interés Nacional' (creada en junio de 1944 como un reflejo de la nazi-germana 'Especial valor político y artístico') estipula entre sus requisitos, para ser otorgada, la existencia en las películas de 'muestras inequívocas de exaltación de valores raciales o de enseñanzas de nuestros principios morales y políticos'" (Herederó *Huellas* 44).

<sup>21</sup> The official backlash to the award was almost instantaneous and resulted in the resignation of the General Director of Cinematography and Theater, José María García Escudero. He would return to the position in the 1960s and help usher in the wave of "New Spanish Cinema." His time as Secretary is often considered a moment of liberalization, though there are conflicting interpretations that recognize him as simply the regime's chief censor (Lara 13).

which viewed progress as perversion (Heredero *Huellas* 296). Nieves Conde admitted that even though the film was severely mutilated in censorship, he was unable to continue this vein of “social film” because no one would pay him to make socially conscious films afterwards (Castro 265). Still, as a “National Interest” film, it was one whose distribution was guaranteed, no matter how controversial that definition might have been.

*Los golfos* illustrates another contradiction that affected Spanish film under Franco, beginning in the late 1950s and greatly affecting the *Nuevo cine español* of the 1960s: the discrepancy between the treatment of films within Spain and their export to international markets, mainly through film festivals. This was just one of the methods by which censors could control the film industry and intervene in its production for maximum propaganda value. The Ministry of Information and Tourism —through the Dirección General de Cinematografía y Teatro and its censors in the Junta de Clasificación y Censura— chose films to represent Spain in international festivals but would then offer different versions to the national public in Spain. In effect, the films that went abroad were meant to show a more liberalized society to the rest of the world, while the versions exhibited in Spain were closely guarded to maintain the traditionalist views of the regime. Carlos Heredero calls this “la doble moral, la doble identidad, las dobles funciones, la duplicación operativa y la ambivalencia económico-geográfica” of censorship (63).<sup>22</sup> As a case in point, Saura’s film was selected by a committee to represent Spain in the Cannes Festival of 1960. The film did not win any prizes, but it did receive good reviews and the attention of international critics (Castro 387).<sup>23</sup> However, back in Spain, censors cut nearly ten minutes of film, mostly sequences that helped define these characters as teenagers dealing with a

---

<sup>22</sup> See Heredero (*Huellas* 59-69) on film censorship in this period. Also see Gubern, *La censura*, for a thorough history of censorship throughout the Franco dictatorship.

<sup>23</sup> Crucially, the festival also introduced Saura personally to Luis Buñuel, which led to Buñuel’s return to Spain for *Viridiana* in 1961.



sense of frustration, including hints at sexual contact, the rejection of the city, and most of a crucial river scene (Brasó 69). Furthermore, when Film 59, the film's producer, refused to give it a "happier" ending (Pérez Millán "*Golfos*" 58), it received one of the lowest classifications possible, which resulted in little financial aid, and a delayed and very limited local release in 1962. This was exactly the opposite of the treatment that *Surcos* had originally received as a "National Interest" film.

To this historical and cinematic context we must add a geographical one as well: both *Surcos* and *Los golfos*, like the housing films of Chapter One, are urban films that use the city of Madrid as a method of critique. By looking at the perspective of the city offered by each film, and at the types of spaces that are framed by the camera, the spectator gets a sense of the areas that the citizens of the city were allowed to access. What we learn is that the critique of the city becomes a means by which the filmmakers could criticize the society in which they found themselves. We are dealing not just with how the characters in each film live the city around them, but how the directors and their collaborators present their lived spaces. Space, as "perceived, conceived, and lived" is part of both the world within the films, and the world that produced the films. In the case of *Surcos* and *Los golfos*, the men who produced them were able to focus on a common interpretation of that world: the economic modernization of the Franco regime in the 1950s failed to live up to expectations for improving the social well-being of the city's inhabitants.

The failure of expectations is evident in *Surcos*, in which the rural Pérez family from Salamanca comes to Madrid in search of work. From the moment they step off the train they are clearly out-of-place, exemplified by their clothing and the looks they receive from the subway riders who stare at the live chickens under their arms. Their displacement and marginality

continues throughout the film, until the family decides to return to the country, once their eldest son has been murdered by a mob boss, their daughter disgraced, and their economic situation no better than it was when they arrived. The cruelest moments of the film deal with Tonia, the daughter, being seduced and manipulated by an *estraperlista*, Don Roque, into believing that she has a future as a starlet on the singing stage. The original ending of the film illustrated the futility of the family's return to the countryside, showing another migrant family arriving as the Perezes boarded their train to leave, and Tonia's jumping from the moving train to return to the unbreakable pull of the city (Stone 41). In the censored version, however, a return to the country was presented as a solution to the woes of the city (Castro 265), and a notice superimposed after the opening credits left no ambiguity as to the moral stance of the film.

While *Surcos* presented a version of the experience of the newly arrived migrant, the migration in *Los golfos* is only implied. Through their living situation, their musical preference (Delgado 51), geographical references, and particular speech patterns, the audience was meant to recognize the "hooligans" as young migrants from Andalusia (D'Lugo 32). Because of their age, we can imagine them as young men who were probably brought to the city by their parents and who have grown up in Madrid. Compared to the Pérez family, they are much more established in—though not satisfied with—their place within the urban landscape. Their one hope to escape their situation lies not in physically leaving the city, as the laborers in *Surcos* manage to do, but in improving their social status by riding the success of the only one in their group with a job and a bankable skill: Juan, the novice bullfighter. Ironically, the only way the gang can get the money needed to buy Juan a debut in the ring is through larceny and violent theft. This inevitably leads to the attention of the police and the imminent end of the gang, through the death of one of the youths and Juan's complete failure in the bullring.

*Surcos* and *Los golfos* deal with social problems, as many neorealist films did. That may have been innovation itself under censorship, but as Saura insists, *Los golfos* was much too subjective to be a neorealist film (Willem 5). The same can be said for *Surcos*: yes, it deals with social problems, but it is far from being objective in its treatment of reality. In fact, the subjective treatment of their subjects is a large part of where the social critique of the two films lies. From different points of view, they both find fault in the vision of the city that was being sold to the Spanish population, whether realistic or not. This criticism could have come out through an objective representation, but the filmmakers were shrewd enough, and interested enough, to frame their stories in narratives that could capture their audiences. Furthermore, their subjectivity, when compared, is striking because it stems from two supposedly opposing ideologies, yet manages to effectively land its criticism on the same target: the city.

### Crowded Open Spaces

In film, to speak of spatial practice is not only to speak of the spaces that are represented on screen, but also the ways in which they are represented. To use Lefebvre's terms, simple as it may be to list the perceived spaces that surround the characters in these films, those spaces mean little if they are not interpreted as spaces of representation in which the characters live. What we are dealing with, then, are two different phenomena: first, the material spaces that are chosen and represented by the filmmakers, and the representations that are in turn reflective of how the characters live. By looking at these two particular films, I hope to understand what the different types of space that the characters inhabit may indicate about the perception of urban space in Spain at the times they were produced.

To look at the physical (material) spaces in which the action of *Surcos* and *Los golfos* develops is to see an especially thorough gloss of urban spaces. *Los golfos* proudly claims, after its opening credits, to have been completely filmed in “escenarios naturales,” one of the stylistic elements that have always bound it closely to the neorealist aesthetic. Saura speaks of this as being part of its almost documentary nature, in which he set out to combine his interest in photography and his social consciousness to create a “straightforward film” (Willem 33). However, as I said above, he insists that his film was too subjective to be realistic, or neorealist. In contrast, the city in *Surcos* —the material spaces in which the Pérez family tries to survive— is wholly portrayed as hostile. Much of the hostility comes through in the people with whom they have to deal, but there is also something that underlies their physical experience of being in Madrid. During the opening credits of the film, the camera, mounted on a train engine, slices through the empty fields like the plow that it is supposed to emulate, creating furrows through the Spanish soil. A series of cuts takes the train, the people riding it, and the spectator closer and closer to the capital city, until they arrive at a Madrid train station. From this point on, the majority of places in which these people will operate —the crowded *corrala*, the gangster’s bar and garage, the employment office, the variety theater, etc.— are profoundly urban spaces, places that would not exist in the rural areas from which they migrated. Furthermore, the hostility that affects the family in *Surcos* is evident at every level of their urban experience, from the public spaces of the city streets to the most intimate places of their new home.

Within the Falangist worldview, the city is the place where the bases of society break down. Here too is where one of the starkest contrasts between *Surcos* and *Los golfos* is noticeable: in the sense of claustrophobia in the spaces in which the characters move. For the peasants in *Surcos*, the city is a crowded, threatening place in every location, whether it be an

exterior setting or an interior one. This is established in the very first scene in the film, in fact. Once the family has arrived at the train station, the first event to occur is for a mechanized cart to speed by and nearly knock Manuel Pérez, the father, to the ground. When the driver yells at him to watch out, the eldest son, Pepe, excuses him (and the rest of the family) by yelling back, “No ves que es de pueblo?” From the very beginning, then, it is understood that new arrivals from the country will not know how to act, or what to watch out for, in the bustling public spaces of the metropolis.<sup>24</sup>

The scene at the train station will be repeated essentially every time a member of the Pérez family leaves home and wanders into a public space, locations that fully conform to the threatening expectations of “open space,” as postulated by the human geographers referenced in Chapter Two. Many of the most memorable scenes in *Surcos* take place in exterior spaces, open to the public, which is precisely what leaves those family members who venture out in their most vulnerable positions. The film scholar Marsha Kinder has recognized that an important element in the city is the crowd, and the crowd in *Surcos* is set in negative terms and in opposition to the family. The family—at least certain of its members—tries to hold on to its moral standards (as defined in traditional, Falangist, parameters) while undergoing a repeated barrage from the amoral crowd. The crowd, as a mob, is anarchic, selfish, and hostile, always watching, and always ready to pounce (Kinder 49). The mob is also unrelentingly present in the streets and plazas of the city, its parks and markets, the employment office and factory, and even the supposedly protected space of home.

For Kinder, the relationship between family and crowd is one that distinguishes *Surcos* from the Italian model of neorealism, because Nieves Conde’s film singles out its protagonists

---

<sup>24</sup> In his *Postmodern Paletos*, Nathan Richardson explores the entire genre of fish-out-of-water films that were popular throughout the 1950s and 60s. *Surcos* is his first example.

from the crowd in order to separate them from it, rather than present them as “typical” members of a larger group (49). In this way, Nieves Conde’s representation of the crowd corresponds especially well with the notions set forth by the earliest Falangist thinking about the people (*el pueblo*, *Volk*) and the city’s effect on the masses (*las masas*). Like other fascist movements, Falangism—and National Catholicism, for that matter—used broad notions of “the people” as the holder of the nation’s spiritual values, even if none of the political or cultural movements that encouraged a cult of the *Volk* ever actually suggested that the people should have political power (Labanyi 9). As set out by José Antonio’s *Twenty-Seven Points*, Falangism rejected both capitalism and communism,<sup>25</sup> repudiating the former for reasons including the charge that it “aglomera a los trabajadores en masas informes, propicias a la miseria y a la desesperación” (“El Programa” pt. 10). For this reason, the city in *Surcos*, which attracted the migrant Pérez family through the promise of its jobs and wealth, surrounds them with exactly this type of “masa informe,” the mob that is constantly ready to overtake them.

The temptations of the city for the unprepared rural peasants are present from the very beginning of the film, before the Pérez family even arrives in Madrid. Eugenio Montes, the Falangist writer and journalist who had the original idea for the film, attached his name to the following statement, which appears superimposed on the screen after the opening credits:

Hasta las últimas aldeas, llegan las sugerencias de la ciudad  
convidando a los labradores a desertar del terruño, con promesas  
de fáciles riquezas. Recibiendo de la urbe tentaciones, sin  
preparación para resistirlas y conducir las, estos campesinos, que

---

<sup>25</sup> Labanyi explains this apparent contradiction by stating that, “The Falange promised to transcend class conflict by uniting employers and workers in state-controlled ‘vertical syndicates’ (the only part of the original Falangist platform that was put into effect under Franco)” (38).

han perdido el campo y no han ganado la muy difícil civilización,  
son árboles sin raíces, astillas de suburbio, que la vida destroza y  
corrompe. Esto constituye el más doloroso problema de nuestro  
tiempo.

The “sugestiones de la ciudad,” then, convert these “árboles sin raíces” from innocent *pueblo* into corrupt and hungry *masas informes*, unless the new arrivals are able to meet the demands of civilization. However, this is hardly a positive desire in Falangist thought, which, as a utopian movement, equated civilization with sickness and the natural with the healthy (Labanyi 24).<sup>26</sup> In *Surcos*, it is the city itself that represents this sickness, or, as the *Twenty-Seven Points* might have put it, “miseria y desesperación,” and it is through its oppressive depiction of space that the audience comes to understand that the crowd plays an important role in determining that even the most apparently “open” spaces turn out to be enclosed and claustrophobic.

Many of these spaces are thematically open because they are public spaces into which anyone can enter, but they are also presented as open on screen. The crowd repeatedly expands the space around the Pérez family, cutting off reference points and increasing their disorientation. This is perhaps best illustrated in the scene in which the elder Manuel tries to sell candy to children at a playground, when a series of three cuts to the children show them multiplying into infinity and completely overwhelming the old man (Kinder 50). The “openness” of the scenes is caused by the apparently unlimited masses of people who crowd out the edges of

---

<sup>26</sup> This notion is reiterated by Carlos Heredero, who sees *Surcos* as “la ilustración del discurso conservador sobre el antagonismo entre la idealización incontaminada del mundo rural y la satanización materialista de la civilización urbana. Una línea de pensamiento acorde con el ideario falangista y afín a los valores de la España agraria, vencedora de la Guerra Civil e interesada en la identificación del progreso con todo tipo de perversiones” (“Autarquía” 296).

each shot. Paradoxically, however, these spaces become claustrophobic due to the unruly masses of people that overrun them.

The public spaces of the city are not the only ones that end up threatening the family in *Surcos*, however. One of the more interesting design characteristics of Spanish domestic architecture, especially in Madrid, was the *corrala*, otherwise known as *casa de corredor* or *patio de vecinos*. The basic layout of this type of residential building was several floors of apartments, whose front doors opened onto a running balcony that encircled a central courtyard shared by all residents. This type of vernacular architecture had received migrants to Madrid for centuries and had reached its maximum popularity in the nineteenth century.<sup>27</sup> However as we saw in Chapter One,<sup>28</sup> by the time of *Surcos*, market demands were altering domestic architecture, and the *corrala* was already somewhat anachronistic. Not surprisingly, the *corrala* serves as setting for other films that highlighted the community as naturally fostered by neighbors who shared a common space that was simultaneously internal and external; a community, in other words, protected from the traffic of the public street yet also open to the circulation of visitors and residents. As detailed in Chapter One, films like *Así es Madrid* (dir. Luis Marquina, 1953), *Historias de Madrid* (dir. Ramon Comas, 1958) and *El batallón de las sombras* (dir. Manuel Mur Oti, 1957), among others, illustrate the relationships that could develop among residents who were able to call to each other through open windows or whose movements could be controlled by nosy neighbors with curious eyes and flexible necks. It makes sense within the Falangist context of *Surcos* that the family would settle in a building that

---

<sup>27</sup> For example, Benito Pérez Galdós's novel *Fortunata y Jacinta* details life in the *corralas* of Lavapiés, the same neighborhood to which the Pérez family arrives.

<sup>28</sup> As we have seen in Chapter One, this type of housing plays prominently in some of the films that specifically dealt with the *problema de la vivienda*, such as *Esa pareja feliz* (dir. Juan Antonio Bardem and Luis García Berlanga, 1953) or *El pisitio* (dir. Marco Ferreri, 1959).



connotes a protected environment focused around a central, inward space, in which residents could band together.

This is not at all the type of *corrala* that emerges in Nieves Conde's film, however. Instead, this living arrangement is a wholly negative space that lacks any sense of civility or community. Upon their arrival at what will be their new home, just off the Plaza de Lavapiés, the camera follows the Pérez family as it ascends the staircase to their third-story balcony. Above the sounds of a makeshift workshop and unruly children, we can hear two or three women arguing across the courtyard. The noise and chaos of the street has intensified as the family has entered what is supposedly a protected space. Furthermore, the camera has been placed so that the characters appear through (or rather, behind) the bars of the staircase railing, giving the audience a sense of the entrapment that the family might feel now inside the city. The barred railings are seen by Kinder as a way of restraining the unruly tenants (103). However, the panoptic nature of the building, which straddles the line between private home and public forum, suggests that one does not have to look at such individual details to understand the psychological effect of such a space on its new inhabitants. From the beginning, it is the residents as a crowd that play as relevant a role in controlling each other as do the physical barriers built between them.

Nevertheless, the chaos of the staircase and patio is repeated throughout the film as a showcase of what little privacy the city dweller in *Surcos* has. On two occasions, the residents of the *patio de vecinos* literally turn into a mob, as they surge and grasp for food that has been scattered throughout the courtyard. In scenes like these, the *corrala* is not a place that fosters community and union, but rather more of a cut-throat arena in which every man, woman, and child is turned into a gladiator who must fend for him or herself against all others: anything spoken can be heard by all; any conflict is played out in front of everyone else. The neighbors

become spectators, and any spoils of battle, whether it be cigarettes, candy, or chickens, become fair game.

Finally, the hostility that comes through in the open spaces is compounded by the fact that the home, which would normally pass as private space, is as unwelcoming and uncomfortable as the space *extra puertas*. The Pérez family's new apartment is not their own, but rather a cramped space that they must rent from a distant relative. This type of *subarrendamiento* was very common in the postwar city, as was portrayed in the housing films of Chapter One. Furthermore, within the social vision of *Surcos*, the home becomes a dangerous place because the gender hierarchy central to Falangism's traditional view of the world is upended here. The family's hosts, doña Engracia and her daughter Pili, are domineering women who take the family in, not out of familial solidarity, but out of self-interest for their rent money. More importantly, the two family members who most threaten the patriarchal hierarchy in the film, the mother and the elder son, Pepe, immediately come under the influence of Engracia and Pili, and therefore reject Manuel Pérez's position as head of the family. The apartment itself becomes a symbol of the father's humiliation when, after multiple failures at finding work outside the home, he is forced by his wife to stay home and do chores. He dutifully dons his wife's apron and stays in the kitchen until the end of the film, when his disgrace finally gives him strength to fight against his wife and his daughter—both of whom have betrayed him—and he manages to pull the family back to the countryside.

From the public spaces of the streets, to the most intimate space of the kitchen, the film conveys a sense of the overcrowding that Nieves Conde and his collaborators saw as the worst of the consequences of uncontrolled migration. However, there is a place in the film that epitomizes the Falange's idealization of the rural world as a center of innocence and moral fortitude: the

shantytown. The shantytown is an ironic choice for a place of salvation, because it was one part of the city that best illustrates what Lefebvre called spaces of representation, that is, a space that grew out of the lived experience of its residents rather than the planned usage prescribed by urban planners. As mentioned above, the Plan Bidagor ringed Madrid with three “green zones”<sup>29</sup> that were partially taken over by those who could not afford housing in the center of town and who built their hovels as they could. What we have in the film, then, is a reversal of what had really happened to the space: Bidagor had planned it as green space, migration had overrun it with what the housing minister would later call a “black belt,” but the filmmakers then re-appropriate it as an ideal space safe from the hostility and moral breakdown of the city.

The character who finds this space is the younger Manuel, whose self-exile impels him towards a shantytown, where he will find salvation, and the love and guidance that his own family in the city has been unable to offer him. As a destitute Manuel stumbles into an area of low, improvised dwellings, the sky opens up, the light becomes brighter, children sing and dance in a circle, and the music swells. He looks up to see Rosario, a girl who mesmerized him earlier, with her father the puppeteer, who is whitewashing the fence outside their home. The sense of pride and care that the *chabolistas* have for their homes recalls the idealized shantytown of Vittorio De Sica’s *Miracolo a Milano*, released the same year as *Surcos*, yet is vastly different from the squalid hovels portrayed ten years later in Luis Martín-Santos’s novel, *Tiempo de silencio* (1962). This is by far the most positive space in the film, where generous people take in Manuel, teach him a legitimate trade, and share their money and food with him. The shantytown emulates that utopian small-town community that is a safe place where the poor care for what little they have, work hard, and are happy to share what they can with strangers.

---

<sup>29</sup> The “green zones” of the Plan Bidagor are the focus of Chapter Four, on leisure space.

Above all, it is also a place where the presence of neighbors is strong and respected. This is somewhat ironic, since intrusion of the community can cause as strong a sense of crowding as the presence of the uncontrollable masses. Yi-Fu Tuan considered crowding relevant to rural-urban migration because it gave many rural inhabitants reason to leave:

The young considered [the small town] crowded in an economic sense because it did not provide enough jobs, and in a psychological sense because it imposed too many social constraints on behavior. The lack of opportunity in the economic sphere and of freedom in the social sphere made the world of the isolated rural settlement seem narrow and limited. Young people abandoned it for the jobs, the freedom, and —figuratively speaking— the open spaces of the city. (60)

In the *Surcos* version of the shantytown, those limits and constraints do not matter in a rural setting, and are rather presented as precisely what was missing from the city. Rosario's father makes clear that Manuel is welcome to share their food and their home, but that Rosario will have to go live with neighbors. Unlike at the family's apartment downtown, this is not because of space limitations, but because of the infamous Spanish *qué dirán*, the eyes of the community that claims to know everything that goes on between a couple, even behind closed doors. Here, what some would take as nosiness is respected and accepted as a positive condition of living in a small community.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> If Rosario and her father are aware of the *qué dirán* to the point of pride in following its precepts, the shame that is felt by the elder Manuel Pérez stems completely from his family's public lack of decency. While in the *chabolas*, and by extension, rural life, the inhabitants are able to control their surroundings and manage the *qué dirán*, the city provides no such cover for the Pérez family, and its laundry is hung out to dry for all to see: Pepe and Pili first sleep and then move in together without being married; Tonia performs on stage—an occupation that was often equated with prostitution—and then actually becomes don Roque's mistress after he arranges her failure; mother Pérez takes on the dominating role in the relationship and delegates Manuel to menial chores in the kitchen.

The shantytown is thus directly opposed to the *corrala* that has already oppressed the family. Both are urban spaces, borne out of the pressures of overcrowding that have pushed residents to occupy every inch of housing or land that they can find. However, *Surcos* rejects the standard images of these spaces and upends them in order to place the rural model in a favorable position relative to the urban. Whereas one would expect the spatial arrangement of the *corrala* to be one that fosters protection and community, *Surcos* presents it as a space that is overrun by unruly crowds that obliterate any order that may have been possible in the built environment. On the other hand, the *chabolas*, which were not part of the city planning and which appeared spontaneously and supposedly without order, represent a space that is much closer to the rural setting that was idealized by the filmmakers. Here, Rosario's family and neighbors are capable of establishing a peaceful order out of spaces that were planned to be simply "empty" green zones. The shantytown in *Surcos* refers back to man's dominance over land itself, whereas the city is only representative of how uncontrollable masses of people have lost a vital connection to the land.

### Open Crowded Spaces

In contrast to the Pérez family, the hooligans in *Los golfos* do not struggle with their urban identity and prove exceedingly good at controlling the space around them. Part of this has to do with the fact that the *golfos* are more a part of the urban space than the family in *Surcos* could ever be. As mentioned above, the audience is meant to recognize the boys as Andalusian migrants because of their interests and their accents. However, they would have been brought to the city as youngsters by their now-absent fathers, and are now just as much a part of the city as men who have always lived there. Like the migrants of *Surcos*, they are also frustrated with city

life,<sup>31</sup> but they are not disoriented by it. They may not be satisfied, but they are comfortable with the urban areas around them, and, unlike the Pérez family, they know how to manipulate the city's crowds, its streets, and its confusion.

In order for the *golfos* to get what they want —Juan's debut in the bullring and its accompanying fame— they depend on crime. Their *modus operandi* is one in which each member of the gang plays a specific role as they collaborate as a team. Whereas the Pérez family broke down among the temptations of the city, the *golfos* work together, and in doing so, they exemplify what Erving Goffman considered a crucial element to the success of a team: control of the setting in which it acts. This control permits the team to “introduce strategic devices for determining the information its audience is able to acquire” (in the case of criminals, “victims” can be substituted for “audience”) and it also gives the team a sense of security (Goffman 95). These strategic devices are the gang's way of creating and controlling the scenes of their crimes, and it becomes evident throughout the film that they are at their best when they have room to move. In instances when they are not the ones who create the boundaries of the space around them, such as in a jazz bar or parking garage, they fail to pull off their crimes. For this reason, I do not completely agree with Saura's declaration in a later interview that there are no enclosed spaces in his early films, including *Los golfos* (Willem 25). The opening credits of the film proudly proclaim that it was shot “completamente en escenarios naturales,” which Saura also said had never been done before. By saying this, he meant that he had filmed his entire movie away from studio sets, in a direct challenge to the “official” cinema of the period (Castro 387). Still, many of those natural sets happened to be indoors, and it is in those places where the boys

---

<sup>31</sup> Perhaps the most famous line cut by censors was one in which one of the boys claims that “Es difícil llegar a ser alguien aquí” (Brasó 69).

seem to be most suffocated and unable to pull off their crimes. For them, open spaces are not threatening; rather, they need them in order to feel in control.

The manipulation of the crowd goes hand-in-hand with the protagonists' relationship to the spaces around them. As in *Surcos*, the Madrid of *Los golfos* is crowded and unruly. However, whereas the sense of overcrowding in *Surcos* is replicated on three levels —street, patio and staircase, and living quarters (apartment)—, the spaces of representation in *Los golfos* show a more nuanced relationship to the crowd and to places in which the boys operate and live. As they do in open spaces, they thrive on the crowd to succeed in their crimes.

Marvin D'Lugo notes that, for the gang, the crowd initially presents an exciting possibility of manipulation and individual escape, only to evolve into the main source of its entrapment (35). Ramón's assault of the blind woman in the initial scene is only the first example of the gang's either attacking someone head-on or stealing someone's personal property while that person is handicapped, absent, or distracted. The manipulation of the crowd continues in scenes like those in the market where Juan works, in which the camera isolates each member of the gang as he steals fruit from distracted vendors. A similar situation occurs shortly after, when the boys steal mirrors and gas caps from *motos* parked outside a football stadium. In these instances, the crowd can be "manipulated" because its attention is elsewhere. This is perhaps most evident in the scene in which the boys steal tools from a truck parked outside a café. The camera quickly cuts from one gang member to another, each strategically positioned inside and outside the café. They have prepared this arrangement to look out for each other while the truckers are inside, conveniently distracted by a prostitute that forms part of the robbery.

A lack of attention is also what leads to the "entrapment" that D'Lugo finds in the *golfos*' plight, however. In a scene in a crowded dance hall, Julián dances with Visi, but the young Paco

is repeatedly rejected by girls, and the other boys sit dejected and ignored, sharing one beer among three. D'Lugo sees this scene as the moment in which Ramón decides to support Juan's bullfighting endeavors, "less as a matter of camaraderie with Juan than [because of] the oppressive knowledge Ramón achieves of the inconsequential status they all share" (35). If much of the pressure on the Pérez family in *Surcos* is due to a sense that an audience is always present, it is the obliviousness of the crowd that drives the *golfos* to act. They yearn for attention, and the place they aim to get it, through Juan, is at the center of a bullring. In order to get to that center, however, the boys increase their criminal activity, a behavior that is inherently marginalized.

Unfortunately for them, their efforts to reach the center are repeatedly thwarted. These boys are constantly being "let down" from their expectations by older men who hold the keys to a possible success: the *empresarios* who set up the bullfights. Though Juan is a promising bullfighter according to the man who runs the arena where he practices against *novillos*, when Juan asks him to help prepare his debut, all we know is that the man "let him down." This is one of the more-commented moments of the film,<sup>32</sup> for it is one that encompasses a very abrupt and deliberate cut between scenes. The audience never actually hears the arena owner say no to Juan; rather, Juan recounts the conversation to his friends. In this way, Saura's editing technique mirrors the boys' actions when among the distracted crowd. The cuts, like the crimes that the boys commit against the crowd, jar the audience back into paying attention to what is going on in front of them. Saura has insisted that the cuts were a technical necessity due to the lack of resources available to the filmmakers (Brasó 62), but they result in scenes that are left unresolved. These inconclusive scenes, in turn, challenge the audience to regroup and piece

---

<sup>32</sup> See, for example, D'Lugo, who calls this scene, "A simple if somewhat forced example of the effort to dissociate the spectator from the illusion of naturalized fiction" (38), and Brasó, who highlights this repeated structure throughout the film (54).



together what it knows of the situation in previous shots. Just as the boys are disappointed and abandoned, so too are the spectators of the film, whose expectations for resolution are constantly frustrated by jump cuts. Furthermore, the film's spectators have the same perceptual handicap as the gang's victims, only able to see in fragments, and powerless to realize from a wider angle that they are being set up.

These jump cuts occur on the level of scene, rather than between shots, the hallmark of French New Wave cinema that was developing simultaneously —yet completely independently— from Saura's experiments in Spain. Brasó points out the effect of this temporal and spatial juxtaposition on the realism of the film, calling it “un realismo completamente elaborado” (55), as all representations of reality necessarily are. If we look at the effects of these cuts within scenes (as opposed to between scenes), however, the effect is to break realism by greatly amplifying the space around the characters. In this case, the discontinuity between shots is more spatial than temporal, and the end result is an expansion of the space in which the action occurs. The camera cuts quickly to and from different angles, but rarely gives a complete picture of what it is they are setting up. Rather, we get shots of the boys as they establish their positions in preparation for a job, and the audience is left to create the limits of the crime in its own mind.

In this way, Saura's editing works in tandem with his chosen locations to express the open spaces that surround the boys. The difference with *Surcos* is quite striking once considered this way. The earlier film fits into the neorealist model that has been attributed to it, as it creates its space and time through a much more straightforward technique: by avoiding disruptive editing and using long takes that focus directly on the action. As we saw in the crowded settings that appear in nearly every scene in *Surcos* (home, street, *corrala*, plazas, etc.), filling up the screen with as many bodies as possible creates a claustrophobic atmosphere no matter where the

characters are located. On the other hand, though Saura places his characters in crowded settings as well, it is among the crowds that the *golfos* are most comfortable. Space is expanded by the multiplicity of angles and rapid cutting that compose each scene, which in turn grows through its juxtaposition in time and space with the scenes that precede and follow it. As a result, the lack of resolution that leaves scenes in *Los golfos* “up in the air” breaks the spatial limits that make the city in *Surcos* so claustrophobic for its protagonists.

Unfortunately for the boys in *Los golfos*, their own break up as a group comes when they themselves become part of the crowd. When Juan is finally at the center of the ring, as the *golfos*’ ticket out of their poverty and into the spotlight, he fails miserably. In the final scene, Juan’s lack of control is precisely what the knowing, critical audience in the bullring reacts to so violently.<sup>33</sup> The audience in the bullring supports him at first but quickly turns against him as they see him struggle against the bull. The grace of the fight completely falls apart as it becomes clear that Juan no longer has control over the animal, and the pride so characteristic of the ritual fight is wiped away. The illusion of control disappears and we see the animal suffer, as Juan is repeatedly unable to deliver the final blow. This is the failure of the man at the center of the bullring, and of the film, to control not only the bull, but also the space around him. In the ring, Juan, who earlier acted as lookout for the gang, is exposed to the eyes of the spectator. At this crucial point, when the boys finally have a chance to exit the anonymity of the crowd because its attention has finally fallen upon one of them, the rest of the gang is trapped among the audience. They are part of the crowd and unable to help him when he is at his most vulnerable—when he was supposed to be the one to help them escape their sorry condition.

---

<sup>33</sup> The actor who played Juan, Óscar Cruz, was an amateur bullfighter, and he insisted on his being able to actually fight the bull for the final scene (Brasó 64).

## No Limits

Based on their experience of city space, it has become evident that an important difference between *Surcos* and *Los golfos* lies in the idea that the Pérez family is completely unable to establish itself within the city and powerless to resist its corruptive temptations, while the *golfos* are part of the city and therefore more able to control their surroundings in order to get what they want. The family begins to disintegrate as soon as it arrives in the capital and begins to look for work. The young men in *Los golfos*, on the other hand, control their surroundings by breaking down the city into smaller and smaller areas through their cooperation and attentive teamwork. As we have seen, the crowds eventually subsume the subjectivity of both groups, and of the individuals who form them. The differences in the way in which this occurs to them, however, hint at an evolution that the city went through under the constant arrival of migrants in the 1950s and how the urban model changed during this period.

The city is a hostile environment in *Surcos* and the migrants that arrive to it from the country are not able to make a place for themselves in it. Clearly, though, hundreds of thousands of migrants were able to arrive and stay in Madrid, as the population statistics confirm. Simply focusing on the rejection is not enough, which is why I have chosen to analyze *Los golfos* along with Nieves Conde's film; in my interpretation, *Los golfos* is the story of what happens once the new arrivals become part of a city, yet find themselves limited by it. Unlike the Pérez family, the boys' desperation is not melodramatic, but the result of a simple and steady rejection. In *Surcos*, the city is an adversary simply because it is a city; in *Los golfos*, the city has turned the boys into their own adversary because they are unable to break out of their place within it.

What I mean by this is that the family in *Surcos* arrives in the city and remains completely alienated from it until they are forced to leave. Furthermore, those who appear to become best

integrated, Pepe and Tonia, are in fact the ones who suffer the most. On the other hand, the *golfos* have no alternative but to be in the city and to be part of it, and to react violently to what happens around them. The violence in *Surcos* happens *to* the family, and they are presented as victims at every turn. The boys in *Los golfos* are also victims, but they attempt to fight back, and the violence comes *from* them. Their violence, whether it be internal among themselves, against their victims, or in the spectacle of the bullring, is a reaction to the limits they feel around them. I think of them as their own worst enemies, precisely because their reaction of violence is in itself a marginal activity. They may be aware of their marginality, but their attempts to break through to a better status in life is impossible from the start because the only way they know how to do so is outside the law. Marginal activity carried out in the margins can bring them no closer to the center. While *Surcos* is certainly the more melodramatic film and its purpose is patently moralizing, the more tragic film is Saura's. These boys have no alternatives. Success in the bullring may seem to provide a way out, but no matter what Juan does in the final scene, the police are waiting to arrest him and his friends when he is done.

What does this difference tell us about the critiques of the filmmakers? As I said above, in *Surcos*, the family's main adversary is the city itself; we are meant to understand that they were much better off back home in the country. The city in *Surcos* is the combination of its masses, its corruption, its crowdedness, its filth, its moral vacuity, etc. But the Pérez family is always presented as separate from those things.<sup>34</sup> From the beginning, the family comes from outside everything that they encounter, and they are sucked into a corrupt city by making the basic mistake of simply coming near it.

---

<sup>34</sup> This is more evident for some of the characters than for others, and there is a line drawn between the father and the innocent son, Manuel, and the mother, Tonia, and Pepe, whose gradual moral corruption forms the dramatic arc of the plot.

In contrast, the *golfos* are outcasts, but they are still part of the city, and they need the city in order to be who they are, just as the city would not be what it is without them in it. Their identity is tied up with the role they play within the urban social fabric. As mentioned above, they are meant to be Andalusian migrants. However, there is never any mention of how or why they arrived, and the only direct reference to their origin is when they choose to baptize Juan with the bullfighting name of “Juan el marteño,” after a small town in Jaén. So little is known about the boys’ background because it does not matter. For Brasó, this was “empezar con el film ya ‘en marcha’, huyendo de las caracterizaciones, o del análisis pormenorizado de sus motivaciones” (58). We do not know how or when they arrived, how long they have known each other, or where their fathers are, because what matters is that they are here now. Unlike *Surcos*, their story is not about the struggles of assimilation, because they *are* assimilation. Though Saura has never acknowledged the direct influence of *Surcos*, and preferred to highlight other inspiration such as Sánchez Ferlosio’s *El Jarama* and Baroja’s *La busca* (Brasó 65), it is as if he set out to tell the story of what would have happened if the Pérez family had remained in the city. In fact, there is a scene in *Surcos* in which a band of young boys play among the rubble of a bombed-out building—reminiscent of Rossellini’s *Germania, Anno Zero* (1948)—and steal the younger Manuel’s shirt. Kinder calls these boys “little anarchists [that] forebode nothing but trouble” (50), and they happen to be just about the right age to grow up into *golfos* eight years later. Those boys, left to wander the streets of the city, could very conceivably shift from playfully stealing shirts to mugging cashiers and taxi drivers.

Ultimately, much of the tension in the two films has to do with a question of limits —on both space and citizens. In my opinion, the difference between how each film portrays the city has to do with the way those who produced it felt about limits. In the design of the Plan Bidagor,

these limits were intended to undo the “anarquía de usos en todo el suelo urbano y extraurbano” of the liberal period that had spanned from the First Republic to the Second. In order to “sentar el principio de la colaboración y armonía de [...] la ordenación y expansión de la ciudad” (5), the Plan neatly draws out three sectors of Madrid, from its downtown core to its suburbs to its “green zones,” which were meant to control access to the city and determine the way in which it functioned. However, as we have seen, the theoretical limits imposed on the city proved to be inadequate for the realities of the population growth that surged beginning in the later 1940s and early 1950s.

The makers of *Surcos* saw this, and, because they came from a shared ideological background as the urbanists who had proposed the Plan, translated the chaos they felt in the city into cinematic terms. For Falangists, the crowded city presented a threat of the conglomeration of masses that had led to the anarchist and communist organizations of the early part of the century; the unruly mob was not guaranteed to become organized vertically, as the Falange desired, and was just as liable to organize horizontally. This is why the notice written by Eugenio Montes at the opening of the film states that the peasants coming from the country were “árboles sin raíces,” unrooted and without the “demanding civilization” that was necessary to be able to comprehend and manage urban life. For the Falangist thinkers, the danger of the city, once it has been overrun by the migrant population, is that there are not enough limits: the negative parts of the city in *Surcos* all have to do with excess. New migrants do not have the “civilización” necessary to resist the unlimited temptations of money, sex, fame, and power.

Therefore, it was up to the filmmakers to apply some limits to the city and some measure of control. They did this first by constricting the Pérez family within cramped, crowded spaces. Enclosed spaces, such as their apartment building and Don Roque’s bar, are always filled with

other people. But this is also true of the open and semi-open spaces such as plazas, streets, and patios. When these spaces are filled with bodies, the effect is to constrain even the largest of them. *Surcos* was a cautionary tale, created to show what happened when ordered plans are overrun or discarded (i.e., ignored by the Franco regime). In a place without limits, *Surcos* creates limits through the resources of film.

Eight years later, Saura's *Los golfos* takes on an opposite interpretation of the city, yet arrives at a similar conclusion. In the time that had elapsed between the production of the two films, migration had continued, and increased, and Bidagor's desire to control growth through state planning had been overrun by demographic movement. As the decade progressed, the regime passed laws that would shape urban space by encouraging industrialization and development, such as the 1956 *Ley sobre Régimen del Suelo y Ordenación Urbana*, the "Poblados Dirigidos" program of the mid-1950s, the establishment of the Housing Ministry in 1957, and a 1961 development policy that aimed to "absorb" the shantytowns (Brandis 221). As Nathan Richardson notes, "by the end of the 1960s, the once pro-rural Franco regime was fully engaged in the city-building business" (*Constructing* 8). The common thread that links these policies, which were also highlighted in Chapter One, is that they were in reaction to the realities of population shifts, rather than in anticipation of what was to come. The increased control on urban space is a result of its increased presence in the constitution of the nation, and its increased value as center of industrialization.

In *Los golfos*, we can sense this buildup of regulation and urban growth through the infrastructure in which we see the *golfos* operate. For them, the problem is not that their city has become unruly and chaotic. In fact, they take part in that chaos by taking advantage of it to achieve their immediate goals. As a young filmmaker who claims to have put much of himself

and his friends into the young gang of *golfos*, Saura's film was an attempt at breaking away from the limits that he felt as part of the way Spain was governed. Saura has said of his early filmmaking that all he wanted to do was to make films and to work towards changing Spain's system of government, "which seemed to us to be this enormous entity that did not let us tell the stories we wanted and kept us from expressing ourselves freely" (Willem 116). In this way, his abrupt editing, which opens the space around the boys, is a way for him to break those constraints. Furthermore, though those limits on expression were certainly part of how the film was received by censors, within the film we can feel those limits through the opportunities that the boys have to change their situation. They are limited by those who restrict Juan's access to the world of bullfighting, and they are aware of the limits that keep them from "being someone" in the city. These limits actually end up making the boys limit themselves, and though they are more at ease in the city than the family in *Surcos* could ever be, it does not mean that Madrid treats them any better. They are part of the city, but they are limited to a very small part of it. Their only attempt at reaching beyond those limits is ultimately thwarted by their own ineptitude, and by the police, who wait ready to pull them back in.

## Conclusion

During the 1940s and 1950s, the growth of Madrid was accompanied by a growth in expectations for the urban experience. The discipline that had been imposed by the regime since its takeover of Madrid had been founded on the city's separation from the rest of the country, based on its function as capital. When the separation was still strong, as it was under the Plan Bidagor and its Falangist underpinnings, it could be seen as a place that was wholly alienating to those who attempted to become a part of it. This is palpable throughout *Surcos*, in which the city



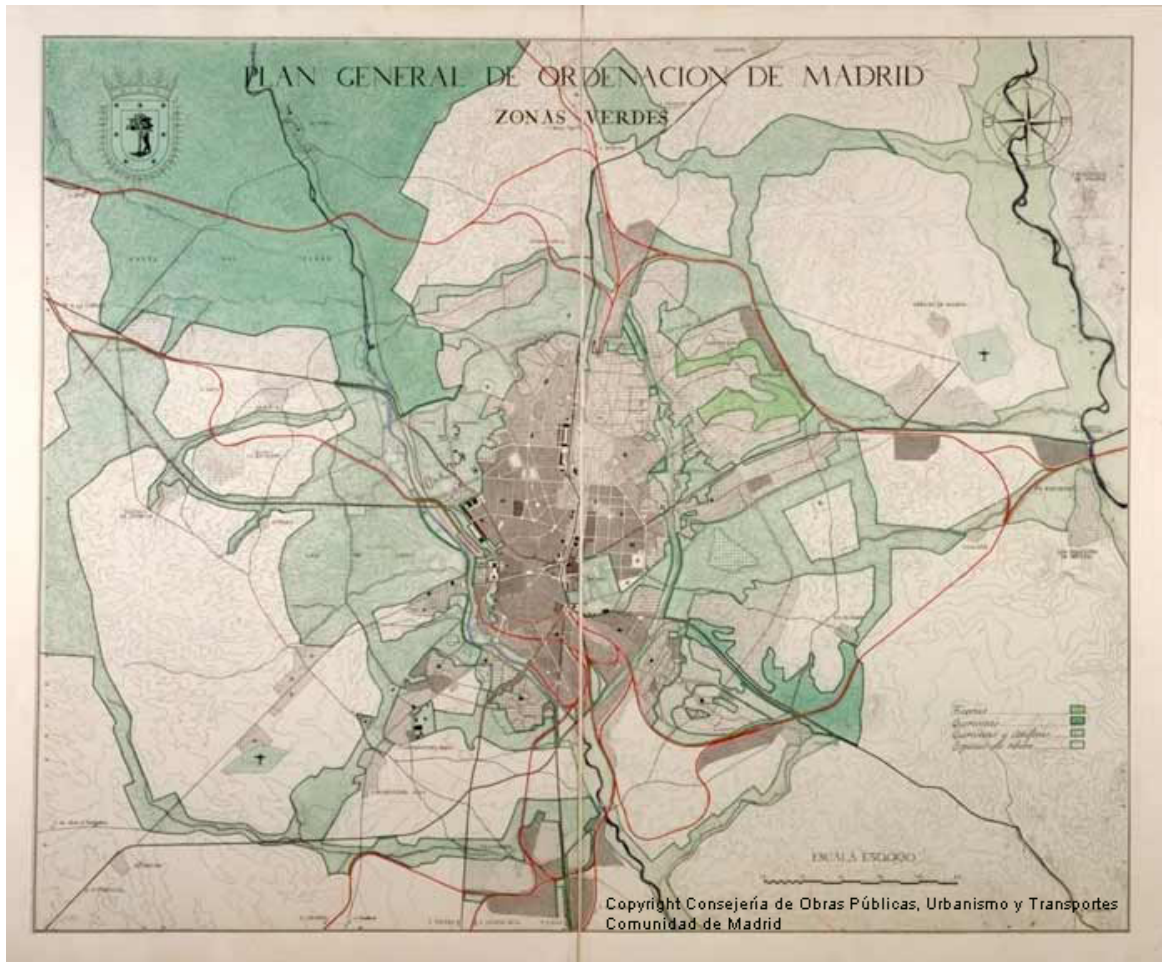
rejects the migrant family. As Bidagor had planned it, Madrid was special, exceptional, because of its role as capital and as center of its “zone of influence.” It is no wonder, then, that the migrant family cannot adapt to being part of it, when its structure was planned as unaccommodating, separate, and abstract. State abstraction does not take into account personal relationships and individual experience. By definition, the family’s expectations cannot be fully met because what they find in the city is completely unknown to them.

On the other hand, Saura’s *golfos* are as much a part of the city as were Don Roque and El Mellao in *Surcos*. What had changed between the two films was that the city was now comfortable as the capital of the regime, and its “weight” as capital was no longer theoretical. The emphasis on urban, industrialized territory that had attracted people to the city now accepted them as being there, though by its very nature it established limits to what they could accomplish. Bidagor’s maps could not control what people did with their space, but the social relationships and networks of the city made sure that they remained within boundaries. Though industrialization attracted people to the city, they would still have to fit certain roles. For the boys of *Los golfos*, their attempt at behaving honestly and breaking away from their marginal role proves impossible. As we shall see in the next chapter, the marginalized boys were not the only ones who had problems breaking away from the pull of the city. Once residents had occupied all the urban territory they could, their next step was to reach out to the surrounding countryside in search of relief. This was not quite reverse migration, as in the case of *Surcos*’s final escape, however, and the city’s structures would prove capable of following these residents into leisure space.

#### 4. “Ya se aburren de tanta capital”: Leisure, Language, and Law in *El Jarama*

*La ciudad estaba desnuda y al descubierto; se la veía hecha sobre los campos, vacía del ensueño que la amparaba. Con sus ojos abiertos tenía miedo de su soledad y se miraba en torno como diciendo: “Yo soy nada sobre los campos.”*  
—Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio, *Alfanhú*

In surprisingly poetic language for a bureaucratic document, the Plan Bidagor explained the final configuration of its “Plano general de zonas verdes” as “núcleos edificados, completamente delimitados como islas de vivienda y trabajo, sobre un fondo verde” (“Plan General”). In previous chapters, I have focused on these *islas de vivienda y trabajo* with the intention of demonstrating that “delimitar” did not always result in definite lines, but rather in wavering notions that varied according to one’s perspective. The *Plan General de Ordenación de Madrid* was written for the purpose that its name suggests: to order. Yet, as the other chapters in this project have shown, the realities on the ground complicated things by forcing citizens to maneuver through the different zones in search of adequate places to live (due to the housing problem, in Chapter One), to rest (Martín Marco in *La colmena*, Chapter Two), or to work (*Surcos* and *Los golfos*, Chapter Three). From the colorful bird’s-eye view of the city maps one gets the sense that everything functioned efficiently as it was designed; at ground-level, however, real activity has a tendency to blur the lines of theory.



**Figure 2. Plan General de Ordenación de Madrid (Plan Bidagor) - Map of Green Zones**

The *fondo verde* of the zoning map formed rings, which simultaneously connected and separated three main divisions of the city: the urban center, secondary and suburban nuclei, and exterior areas that were still within the *zona de influencia* of the capital (see Figure 2). According to the *Plan*, the third, outermost green ring “constituye la zona de expansión y de desahogo de la Ciudad” (24). For the planners, this area would be the space that the capital would use to expand when faced with the expected pressures of population growth and industrialization in the 1950s. Furthermore, it was also proposed as a space of relief and relaxation, a place where city dwellers could get away from their urban daily lives. The “desahogo” that the green zones provided was

the chance for the city to get away from itself. Perhaps not coincidentally, as stated in the map and the text of the *Plan*, the defining border of the outermost green ring was the Jarama River, setting of Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio's celebrated novel *El Jarama* (1956).

In this chapter, I analyze the leisure space that is represented in *El Jarama* in order to show how the conflicting uses of this space as a zone of "expansion" (*expansión*) and "relief" (*desahogo*) define it by creating expectations. Beginning with a consideration of the green zones and suburbs as a "counter-space" to the capital city within a new model of leisure that was emerging in the 1950s, I explore how leisure space is in fact another disciplined element of urban space. In order to do so, I propose an analogy between leisure space and language: both are social constructs whose existence depends on what I will term "expectations of distinction," based on the theories of Henri Lefebvre and Pierre Bourdieu. In spatial terms, this concept refers to the way in which humans interact with the space around us when we expect it to be different than our usual surroundings, as is the case of the day trip to the beach in *El Jarama*. Linguistically, the expectations created by dealing with a member of a social group that is considered different than the one to which we belong affects the way we use language to interact with the other. In *El Jarama*, this is most evident in the characters' speech. Space and language are in this way formed *a priori*, based on the expectations that precede social interaction.

From the start, I must clarify that I am approaching this analogy through a specific lens. I am not attempting to equate urban space and language on the level of whole, structured systems. In *The Urban Revolution*, Lefebvre himself questions whether it is advantageous to treat the urban as a system in the same way that linguists consider language, as a virtual system that exists as a *presence-absence*.<sup>1</sup> His answer is only "possibly" (53). Rather than take on an analysis of

---

<sup>1</sup> Building on the work of linguists such as Saussure, Trubetzkoy, and Chomsky, Lefebvre explains the "systematic array" of language—as opposed to the manifestation of language that is the *parole*—in this way:

that magnitude, in this study I will base the analogy on a third element, law. In the case of *El Jarama*, law comprises two separate domains: a) the judicial system, represented by the appearance of an investigative judge in the novel who uses a specific, “legitimate” language, and b) the legislative system, which, in urban plans such as the Plan Bidagor, designates leisure space and therefore creates it. As we shall see, the expectation of distinction is integral to producing the space in which leisure, language, and law can operate.

As it has in previous chapters, the Plan Bidagor represents much of the idealization of space that is later lost in use. The maps included in the Plan allow us to visualize the “zone of influence” that the planners conceived of as belonging to the city.<sup>2</sup> By designating the green zones as an area for *expansión y desahogo*, the authors of the plan were anticipating two types of growth. The first of these was a productive expansion that would come about due to demographic and economic growth. With the rapid migration to Madrid of the 1950s—discussed in Chapter Three—the city would indeed expand beyond its boundaries in 1939. The second type of expansion is on more temporary terms, as a place that would allow city-dwellers to find some relief from their urban surroundings. It is precisely within this zone, and in this sense, that Sánchez Ferlosio decided to set *El Jarama*.

I have chosen to use this novel as a way to interrogate leisure space for several reasons. First, *El Jarama* has been considered by many to epitomize the *novela social* and to present a clear criticism of life under Franco through its “objective” representation of a single day in 1950s

---

“Speakers may employ [the system] without realizing it, but they don’t necessarily ignore it. [...] All speakers know their language. They have no need to deliberately specify the rules, and they use them as they see fit. A condition for the efficiency of this systematic array is the *absence* of a system at the level of effects, acts, and events, even though its *presence* is manifest to varying degrees. In action the system operates with this *presence-absence*” (*Revolution* 51, italics in original).

<sup>2</sup> Not everyone agreed with the zoning that the plan proposed. Julián Laguna, president of the Consejo de Colegios de Arquitectos, accused Bidagor of dedicating too much land to the green zones, declaring that “se le había ido el lápiz verde” (Fernández-Galiano, Isasi, and Lopera 20).

Spain. It is a novel that depicts the life of mostly working-class characters, who are presented by the author in a straight-forward, unadorned prose, absent of direct social commentary, in which the action flows as unnoticeably as the languid current of the river that gives the work its name.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, though its action occurs almost completely along the banks of the Jarama, Madrid is a constant point of reference for its characters. Those who come from the city relate everything in the country to the capital's terms. Meanwhile, the inhabitants of the country look to the visitors with suspicion and insecurity, yet also define their space in relation to the city. Additionally, in the context of *El Jarama*, leisure is related to tourism, albeit a tourism on a local, domestic scale.<sup>4</sup> Though much has been made of Spain as an international tourist destination, there has been relatively little discussion of domestic tourism and the type of short-term, daily excursions undertaken in this novel. Because the novel offers a "slice of life" portrayal of a day off, we can use it as a window into the habits that Spaniards would consider within the reach of their everyday possibilities. Yet these excursions also offer a chance to contrast those daily lives from the exceptional experience of being outside of one's element and exploring something unknown. Therefore, like the spatial relationship between country and city itself, an excursion allows us to study something that appears to be foreign and different, yet is still founded upon principles that have ties to our familiar and everyday lives.

Another reason for interrogating leisure in the context of *El Jarama* is that there is a constant feeling among its characters, especially the visiting *madrileños*, that they are never truly

---

<sup>3</sup> The degree of mimesis in *El Jarama* is mentioned in virtually every study of the novel. Among them, María Luisa Burguera, editor of a recent edition, calls the novel "el descubrimiento de la objetividad" (XVII). Jeremy Squires provides a clear and convincing argument for why *El Jarama* should be considered an "objectivist" novel, rather than a "behaviorist" one, as some early scholars called it (*Experience* 122-51).

<sup>4</sup> Richard Sharpley examines a distinction often made in tourism studies between a) tourism, "traditional rural pursuits undertaken during longer trips involving at least one night away," and b) leisure trips, "more local, day trips" (378). Sharpley finds this distinction to be "illogical," and I do not make this distinction when considering Madrid's green zones because I am working with the concrete example of the recreational activities in *El Jarama*.

relaxed, though this is their day off and they claim to have come to the river in order to get away from the city. For many readers, the thematic marker of *El Jarama* is *abulia*, the tendency towards boredom and lack of action that was defined in the late nineteenth century by Ángel Ganivet as “la enfermedad espiritual de España [...] la extinción o debilitación grave de la voluntad” (162). The lack of enthusiasm that Ganivet saw at the demise of the Spanish Empire is present again for the critic Pablo Gil Casado in the postwar period. In the context of Sánchez Ferlosio’s novel, Gil Casado writes that “El ambiente que envuelve a los excursionistas es de franco aburrimiento, puesto de manifiesto por lo que dicen, lo insignificante de su personalidad y su pobreza mental” (169). This general boredom and lack of spirit has been a defining characteristic for scholars who have criticized the novel as well as praised it. However, a generalization such as this overlooks the complexity of relationships among characters, as well as simplifies the tone of the novel. The causes of this feeling were not just part of Spanish society of the 1950s, but part of defined systemic properties that would create an environment for this reaction to daily life. Key to my interpretation of the particular *abulia* of *El Jarama* are the expectations and habits that characterize leisure activities during this time period. Within strict codes of conduct, even leisure must be negotiated, because it does not necessarily provide the expansion, much less the relief, that it promises.

### Mid-Century Leisure

By specifying a zone for expansion and relief, the authors of the Plan Bidagor were anticipating a time in which the conditions in the capital would compel its citizens to reach out to the country around the city in search of a “counter-space” that could provide an alternative for the pressures that arise from the everyday. The country-city relationship that exists in this

context is not the same as the one that was present in a film like *Surcos* (see Chapter Three). In discussing *Surcos*, I made the analogy of hordes of migrants arriving to overtake the urban space as if they were zombies descending upon the city in search of jobs. Their arrival supported industrial growth and the population boom that helped turn Spain into an urban country in the second half of the twentieth century. This population increase created the conditions for a reaction in the other direction: a desire to escape the overcrowded city, in search of *expansión y desahogo*. Leisure, as opposed to labor, means an escape from the ordinary occupied life, but in order to actually provide any type of relief, it must take place during a time and in a place that is deemed separate from one's usual surroundings. Leisure must appear different from our everyday expectations and experiences, it must offer us some sort of escape from whatever it is that we deem "normal." Therefore, leisure is synonymous with escape, with expansion away from habits and surroundings, which, one hopes, leads to a feeling of relief. For the inhabitants of Madrid, the green zones had been established with this expansion and relief in mind, ready and open for them to occupy, if even for just one day. Still, this desire for escape is a different impulse than the one that drives people to migrate; this is temporary, not in search of a solution, but simply in search of relief, escape, with every intention and the acceptance of going back to what is habitual and expected.

For mid-century residents of Madrid, the relief valve of designated green zones emerged at a time when leisure was beginning to change. In this sense, as in so many others, the 1950s was a decade of transition,<sup>5</sup> when consumerism, leisure activities, and free time were still recovering from the Civil War in some ways and in others were just beginning to open up to new products

---

<sup>5</sup> A recent work by Tatjana Pavlović, *The Mobile Nation: España cambia de piel (1954-1964)*, covers the public television, mass tourism, and automobile industries during this period of transition. *El Jarama* takes place in 1954, the very beginning of the period covered in Pavlović's study (see below for date).



and practices that would multiply in the boom years of the sixties and early seventies.

Accordingly, the works I have studied in previous chapters portray leisure on various levels. For example, Cela's *La colmena* shows its characters interacting in the classic urban leisure spaces of Doña Rosa's coffee shop, the brothel, and the *casa de citas*. Only once does its action depart from downtown Madrid, when Martín Marco rides out to the cemetery and finds some (false) relief in its open air. Likewise, Carmen and Antonio, in *Esa pareja feliz*, spend time at the movie theater and have a picnic in an area with a view of the city's tallest buildings in the background, ostensibly separated from the center. This moment of relief, however, is completely outside the realm of experience for the Pérez family in *Surcos*, whose suffocation in their urban space is the point of the film, as it is for the boys in *Los golfos* and the couples that search for housing in *La vida por delante*, *El inquilino* and *El pisito*. To be sure, these varying degrees of pressure are a reflection of individual experience, but they also reveal certain limits on leisure that affected the working-class protagonists of these urban films and novels. In them, leisure is treated as an afterthought and an exception to their everyday activities. *El Jarama*, on the other hand, places its characters completely in an environment of supposed relaxation.

*El Jarama* was published in 1956. Though he decides to "leave the search to a less respectful detective," Gonzalo Sobejano determines that the action of novel could occur on 8 August 1954 ("Retrovisión" 289).<sup>6</sup> The exact date is not as important to this study as is the year, which allows us to reconstruct some of the common trends in leisure that were prevalent at the time. A study published at the end of the decade revealed that working-class young people took

---

<sup>6</sup> Sobejano arrives at this date through the publication history of the novel and textual evidence: "El año de *El Jarama* tuvo que ser 1954 porque la novela está concluida en marzo de 1955, y en agosto de 1953 no se podía saber aún que los americanos fuesen a venir a Torrejón de Ardoz, [...] dado que el pacto hispano-norteamericano no se firmó hasta septiembre de 1953. En cuanto al domingo de agosto de 1954, dos alusiones podrían servir para determinar la fecha exacta: la tarde de aquel domingo toreaba seis toros en Las Ventas, en la corrida del Montepío, el diestro Rafael Ortega [mentioned in the text] y en esa misma tarde Justina, a solas en su alcoba, veía en el techo la luz que proyectaba 'la lamparilla que tenía su madre por la novena de la Virgen de Agosto'" ("Retrovisión" 289).

advantage of their free Sundays for leisure and varied their activities according to season.

Popular winter activities included movie-going (51% of the time), dancing (42%), and walking and promenading (13%). In the summer, walking became more common (35%), but dancing declined to 27%, and going to the cinema became an inconsequential activity. In place of dancing and the cinema, summer-time excursions became more popular, increasing to 31% of leisure-time activities (Cazorla Sánchez 244 n. 78). Though this increase was most likely due to better weather for being outdoors, we can infer that excursions, like winter movie-going and dancing, were seen as a viable opportunity to escape the routine of the everyday; they presented something new. As in most types of tourism,<sup>7</sup> the chance to get away from one's typical surroundings offers a sense of freedom.

The first half of the 1950s was still before the time when the automobile and the television would become the two primary means of escape. Television, for example, was still widely unknown at the time of *El Jarama*'s publication. By the 1960s, it would become the dominant cultural indicator and arbiter of popularity, but sales of televisions did not begin in Spain until 1956,<sup>8</sup> and they remained an expensive luxury good for another decade, until the regime relaxed

---

<sup>7</sup> Domestic tourism is more difficult to track than migration, which is reflected in population statistics, or international tourism, whose arrivals and departures are controlled at the border. While sales of cars and motorcycles are certainly an indication of increased mobility, we cannot monitor their specific use for leisure.

In the case of international tourism, we know that in the 1960s Spain became a major destination for international tourists, and that tourism fueled the economic boom that transformed the country, but most of the studies of tourism have focused on the period after the 1950s. Spain as an international destination was much more modest in the 1950s, though it is known that in the first years of the decade, tourism grew rapidly, from 600,000 visitors in 1950, to more than a million in 1951, and 1.7 million in 1953 (Abella 181).

Justin Crumbaugh's *Destination Dictatorship* details the surge of international tourism in the 1960s and 70s and the rhetoric of the regime that encouraged a double-edged representation of Spain to seem liberal from the outside but keep tight control on the inside. Thus, rather than weaken the state through liberalization, as has been commonly argued, the arrival of the massive tourism that would be essential to the "Spanish miracle" of the 1960s reinforced the regime's authority by integrating the dictatorship into a larger image of Western liberalization. See also Sasha D. Pack, *Tourism and Dictatorship: Europe's Peaceful Invasion of Franco's Spain*.

<sup>8</sup> Televisión Española (TVE), the state-run television network that dominated programming until the 1980s, was founded in 1952, but regular broadcasts did not begin until 1956, and at that point could only be received in Madrid (Palacio 601).

television licensing fees and consumers could begin to afford these objects in their homes. As for automobiles, “entre la década del gasógeno (los 40) y la del automovilismo generalizado (los 60), los años cincuenta eran un tiempo en que se hacía lo posible por aliviar con la maquinaria una vida difícil” (Sobejano “Retrovisión” 291). Though automobile presence doubled between 1948 and 1958, the number increased only from three to six cars per 1,000 inhabitants (Sueiro Seoane 334); it was clearly still a luxury that few families could afford.<sup>9</sup> We cannot yet consider the automobile as a tool in conquering the countryside and bringing it under the city’s command at the time of the excursion of *El Jarama*. In the novel, for example, the automobile only appears as a vehicle for work, and the bathers who arrive at the river do so on bicycles, a motorcycle, or on the train from Madrid that dominates the landscape from a railroad bridge that crosses over the river.

Still, television and automobiles would eventually change leisure time by altering leisure space. Essentially, the preferred location for leisure would move from the public to the private (Cazorla Sánchez 160). Once television became widespread enough, families moved from the community space of bars and theaters to the private space of the home. For their part, automobiles would be considered as facilitators of movement, and therefore a liberating agent that stopped tying individuals to established train, trolley, or bus routes. Thus, we see two conflicting pressures: the television would draw people *in*, while the automobile would offer them a way *out*. The impulse that lies behind them, however, was essentially the same as the one that I have mentioned above: a desire to get away from one’s everyday habits and surroundings.

Without television and automobiles, other forms of entertainment that had been popular for decades continued as outlets for relaxation and leisure. Radio remained king, with its soap operas

---

<sup>9</sup> Production of the popular and affordable SEAT 600 began in 1957.

and radio sponsors that provided escapism while promoting a mass consumerism that reached audiences who were more widespread than ever before (Cazorla Sánchez 158). Record players brought music to parties, which were one option that young people had for intermingling with members of the opposite sex, even when heavily monitored.<sup>10</sup> Finally, the cinema was a very popular leisure activity, both for what occurred on screen and what was possible to accomplish in the darkened back rows of the theater (Cazorla Sánchez 157). Film in general was part of popular conscience, and people discussed new releases and made movie-going into a social experience, as we saw in the housing films of the first chapter, especially *Esa pareja feliz*. Accordingly, in a novel as contemporary as *El Jarama*, the characters comment on films that are in the news and make references to movies that they would have seen, as well as take the opportunity of being away from home to listen to records, dance, and drink the day away. In the case of older generations, without the lure of television in the homes, taverns and coffee shops remained a popular place to gather, especially for men.

What ties these leisure options together is the illusion of escape that they present. Whether through a sedentary activity, such as listening to the radio or watching television, or through physical movement, leisure offers an opportunity to avoid the pressures of one's productive role in society. As new material wealth and commercial possibilities led to increased opportunities for leisure time, the city needed to find a corresponding leisure space. No longer the sole domain of the bourgeoisie, free time was now open to more people, and as a result, these increased numbers

---

<sup>10</sup> Carmen Martín Gaité describes, among many other postwar customs, the house parties known as *guateques*: “los padres comprensivos cedían, más o menos a regañadientes, alguna habitación amplia de la casa. Con la colaboración indispensable del ‘picú’, la aportación de diferentes discos y la elaboración de algunos aperitivos y un ‘cup’ de frutas con poco alcohol, se celebraban estas fiestas de juventud, presididas por la incomodidad y por cierta euforia postiza. [...] El hecho de que aquellas reuniones se celebraban en domicilios de gente conocida y más o menos respetable, frenaba las posibles libertades de los jóvenes asistentes a ellas. La sociedad no le había dado carta blanca en esa época a la juventud para que se sintiera protagonista de nada [...]” (189-90). “Picú” is derived from “pick-up” and refers to the record player (Sueiro Seoane 331).

reached outwards to the lands that had been set up for them as *zona de expansión y de desahogo*. Their search for leisure, however, was in many ways a chimera, as activities that apparently left them room to escape the city only reproduced the structures of city life and never fully provided a break. Before exploring how this plays out in *El Jarama*, I wish to consider how leisure space might be controlled. Leisure space was not only an extension of the city itself, but also an amplification of the disciplinary structures that controlled the city. In fact, the green zones that were set up as relief could not be separate; the city would maintain an influence on this area because —by the definitions established by urban planning— they remained part of the city. By integrating the supposedly “counter” spaces into the city, the plan assured the influence that it dictated.

#### “Boxes for living in”

When Henri Lefebvre writes about leisure space, he first presents it as a possible “counter-space,” a space that gives primacy to use rather than to exchange, one that allows for an escape from the structures of production and “the endless expansion of the ‘private’ and of industrial profitability” (*Production* 382). In this sense, parks, carnivals, beaches, cinemas, and other places of play appear at first to have escaped the established order and to provide us with something other than the common pressures of our daily lives and let us “get away from it all.” In short, we expect counter-spaces to be different than what we are accustomed to. However, Lefebvre’s quick condemnation of leisure space is definite and clear:

The case against leisure is quite simply closed —and the verdict is irreversible: leisure is as alienated and alienating as labour; as much an agent of co-optation as it is itself co-opted; and both an

assimilative and an assimilated part of the “system” (mode of production). [...] As an extension of dominated space, leisure spaces are arranged at once functionally and hierarchically. They serve the reproduction of production relations. [...] Hence this space too is made up of “boxes for living in,” of identical “plans” piled one on top of another or jammed next to one another in rows.

*(Production 384)*

I am intrigued by Lefebvre's notion of boxes that organize and define leisure space through expectations, actions, habits, etc. Though this is a mere fragment in his theory of the production of space, it is suggestive of the disciplinary order that I have been tracking across the expanse of Madrid's urban territory. In this case, the “extension of dominated space” in Lefebvre was embodied by the authors of the Plan Bidagor when they declared that the area reaching to the Jarama River formed part of the “zone of influence” of Madrid. An extension of the city into the country was now declared by law. The outer ring of “green zone” became, in official discourse, the area where the city would find its expansion and relief. Rather than being established as an “other” space, outside the boundaries of Madrid, the Bidagor maps included the green zones as part of the city. According to the explanation of the overall “Plano general de ordenación,” the green spaces were a border that held the city together and defined it: “Los espacios verdes envolviendo y acuñando la Ciudad, la sanean y limitan definiendo y separando sus diversas partes” (“Plan General”). These zones form its outer ring, and thus, are granted an important, though paradoxical, role: first, they are the last stretches of the city for those leaving it, and, second, the first hint of the city for those arriving.

This position corresponds to what Robert Preston-Whyte has proposed as the “liminal” quality of leisure space. Liminal, from the Latin *limen*, refers to boundaries and thresholds, “in-between spaces” through which we pass from the known to the unknown (350). Preston-Whyte specifically develops this in the context of the beach, and even though *El Jarama* features a river beach, its location at the outer edges of the zones of influence of Madrid mark it as a liminal space. The power of liminal spaces lies in their attraction to those who wish to escape their everyday lives, and in this case, the beach holds that quality as much as rural space in general does. As tourist destinations, both the beach and rural space offer the prospect of escape, yet that escape may never come. Lefebvre states that, “the beach is the only place of enjoyment that the human species has discovered in nature” (*Production* 384), but as he would well know, both the beach and the rural countryside, when considered as leisure destinations, are abstract, socially constructed concepts. Richard Sharpley, in a tone that echoes Raymond Williams’s, recognizes that the attraction of the countryside is based on “a rural utopia where visitors may escape from the present into an ‘authentic,’ nostalgic past. The rural, in the tourism context, is a constructed, negotiated experience, the symbolic significance of which may bear little resemblance to the reality of a dynamic countryside” (377). The constructed nature of leisure space, —Lefebvre’s “boxes for living in”— first creates the expectations for what a day at the beach entails, and then defines the experience through the infrastructure that has arisen because of its designation as a leisure space.

In this way, a planning law like the Plan Bidagor creates leisure space by designating it as such. This urban law plays a fundamental role in determining the perspective from which leisure space is already integrated into and dominated by the urban setting. Furthermore, this explains why, though the capital city may be only indirectly present, as it is in *El Jarama*, it is a constant

point of reference and the lens through which the country might be explored. The action of Sánchez Ferlosio's novel shows that the expansion of the city, as a temporary excursion or as more urban encroachment, was part of daily life and experienced by both visitors and residents of the countryside. It will also reveal how leisure space is constructed through the expectations of its visitors.

It is in this context that I have come to consider the idea of “expectations of distinction” to link leisure, language, and law in *El Jarama*. By this, I mean that the characters who gather on the shores of the Jarama on the day of the narrative expect this space, and the events that occur there, to be different than what they are accustomed to in their lives in Madrid. These are the typical idealized beach activities such as lying in the sun, drinking, eating, talking with friends, and leaving behind the worries of their day-to-day routines. As Preston-Whyte points out, “people make decisions on their choice of beach space and periods of use by employing constructivist thought that draws on the desired activities to be experienced as well as romanticized *a priori* knowledge of the space” (351). In the same way, the three main groups — the locals, the bathers, and the judicial team— have preconceived expectations of each other and of the way they will behave, which result in their treating each other as distinct from themselves. Ultimately, this distinction has a self-fulfilling quality. Since people expect a day at the beach to be different, they will act differently than they normally do; when someone meets another person whom they expect to be different, they treat them differently than they would an equal. Therefore, they will most likely find the distinction that they were looking for to begin with. This distinction has a function that classifies space as much as it does social groups and classes; it identifies them as other, or as special, because they are different. However, at the same time, if the distinction is accepted, it also locates people and places into specific categories, which allow us to identify



them because they conform to our expectations. In other words, these expectations legitimize our social interactions.

The same holds true when considering the expectations of distinction in linguistic terms. Pierre Bourdieu's analysis of the production of "legitimate" or "authorized" language underscores how the use of a certain register of language reveals speakers' linguistic and social capital and the negotiations that they assume, even when they do not fully understand that they are doing so. Only by producing "legitimate" language may one establish him or herself socially, and, vice versa, the words that someone uses gain much of their meaning through the status of the speaker: "The power of words is nothing other than the *delegated power* of the spokesperson, and his speech [...] is no more than a testimony, and one among others, of *the guarantee of delegation* which is vested in him" (*Language* 107, italics in original). The words and the tone employed by a speaker signal the power relations that are inherent in a declaration or a conversation. The ability to adapt one's speech permits an individual to adopt a variety of social roles, an ability that proves useful in the changing circumstances of daily life. Yet those roles can also be considered "boxes," created by expectations that come not only from the person who adopts it, but also from other people who encounter the role and treat the person in certain ways in anticipation of what it means. Thus, in their power relations and expectations, a connection arises between Bourdieu's legitimate language and Lefebvre's "boxes for living in." Boxes are lived on a variety of levels, from the linguistic to the spatial to the behavioral, and they all work together to form the environment in which an individual acts in a given situation. In this case, these expectations have to do with leisure.

As a literary work, *El Jarama* is especially open to interpretations of legitimate language because it is a novel whose outstanding characteristic is the almost constant dialogue that flows

among its characters. Speech has been seen as a key to Sánchez Ferlosio's ability to capture this moment in Spanish history and as a marker of the different generations represented in the text. The author's "objectivist" style limits the point of view to an external focus, which results in a seemingly "free" narration, in which the absence of a narrator who explains or comments on the action leaves the reader responsible for making the connections between what the characters say and what they feel. Because of the predominance of dialogue in the novel, much of the study of its language has been focused on the vernacular speech of the many characters who gather at the river. In this study, my focus is not on the vernacular, but the more formal linguistic process that arises with the appearance of the judge who is called in to investigate the drowning death that forms the main incident of the plot.

The arrival of the judge also lends itself to questioning the presence of the judicial or juridical field, whose power is closely linked to its creation of legitimate language. For Bourdieu, this field is the "social universe" within which juridical authority is produced and exercised ("Force" 816). Once again, an important element of the creation of a judicial field is the distinction between those who are permitted to access the juridical field and those who are at the mercy of its primary actors. Both spatially and linguistically, the judge's appearance, much more than the initial presence of the bathers from Madrid, uncovers the underlying structures that attempt to control this country space as much as the city space that the bathers are seeking to escape temporarily. The confrontation of the colloquial with the formal, judicial language is one of the central conflicts of the novel, and it illustrates the discipline that the urban structures attempt to impose on the rural. In this view, the urban does not represent a chaotic space that must be brought under order, as it has been portrayed in other chapters. Rather, the urban, and its representatives from a hierarchy that includes the judicial and so-called "forces of order," exert a

control on rural society that attempt to make it conform to what is expected of it. The objectivist language used by Sánchez Ferlosio is one insight that we have into how his novel is an attempt at standardizing, at freezing, a fleeting moment. The judge's judicial language alters the vernacular language of those who are outside his realm of authority by transforming their speech into a pre-established model.

Language and law, or rather, the codification and standardization created by language and law, define leisure space by defining the boxes that constitute that leisure space. Thus, the habits of leisure (e.g., the activities described in the previous section) and what is expected of free time come from a larger framework in which all participants play roles that are part of a social hierarchy. The end result of this framework is for those roles to appear as a natural order of things, in the sense that social actors accept them, and how they are expected to behave when playing them, with little resistance or questioning. The characters that gather at the river in *El Jarama* conform to their roles, but their confluence and interaction on this one day, at this one place, additionally places them in relationship to one other force: the river itself. The judge's authority is meant to appear as natural as the "natural authority" of the river, thereby putting man's law and nature's law face to face. That this confrontation is triggered by and played out over the body of a dead girl is only the first indication that leisure space cannot always fulfill its promise of a place of relaxed and carefree pleasure.

#### Leisure Space in *El Jarama*

*El Jarama* is the chronicle of a summer Sunday afternoon as lived by three main groups of people. The youths that arrive from Madrid are blue-collar employees (mechanics, retail clerks, waitresses, etc.) in their late teens and early twenties. Economically, they belong to the same

social class as the older generation of workers and laborers that spend their day at Mauricio's bar, most of whom live and work in the neighboring towns. At the end of the day, a judicial team composed of an investigative judge, his secretary and driver, and the pair of Civil Guards who patrol the area around the river is summoned to investigate the drowning death of one of the bathers from Madrid. Differences in age, local origin, and social status that separate the groups create expectations that they have for each other and for themselves. That is, the young people from the city believe that they will find a certain way of life and mentality among the locals, and the older locals have expectations of and prejudices against the younger generation. When the officials of order arrive, the respect that the other characters show for them reflects the distinction that they have come to expect from their presence. Together, the three groups produce the leisure space as they interact within it.

In much of the novel, Sánchez Ferlosio uses his characters' dialogue to express these expectations and show the relationship that ties the city and the country space together. Each depends on the other for their mutual benefit, yet both groups are still slightly uncertain of what they will find. For example, in an early exchange, Mauricio, the bar owner, and Lucio, his most observant client, debate whether the city offers more to the inhabitant than the country. Lucio insists that if the city were so good, there wouldn't be so many people coming to the river every chance they get: "[M]íralos cómo se vienen a pasar los domingos. ¿Eh? Será porque ya se aburren de tanta capital; si estuvieran a gusto no saldrían. Y que no es uno ni dos... ¡es que son miles!, los que salen cada domingo, huyendo de la quema. Por eso nadie puede decir en dónde está lo bueno; de todo se acaba cansando la gente, hasta en las capitales" (20).<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> All quotes from the novel come from the edition by María Luisa Burguera (Espasa Calpe, 2006).

According to Lucio's logic, there is something in the city that pushes its citizens out towards the country. For this group of youngsters, and for the hundreds (or thousands, according to Lucio) of other bathers that regularly come to the river, the Jarama serves as a "counter-space" devoted to leisure. They have come to bathe, to drink wine, to dance, to talk and let the day go by without their responsibilities and routines of the city. As Mely, the most outspoken of the group, says when another suggests they eat their lunch sitting at a table at Mauricio's, "¿A qué se viene al campo? Hemos venido a pasar un día de jira y hay que comer como se come. De lo contrario no interesa. Lo otro lo tenemos ya muy visto" (80). Because the river is still on the periphery of the city, the "posesores salen en busca del aire," as Sobejano observes (*Novela* 359). As something different, the river appeals to the city-dwellers as a space for expansion and relief.

Despite Mely's objections, a large part of the appeal lies not in the river itself, but in the *ventas* and *merenderos* like Mauricio's that have sprouted along the shore, some of them with names like *Gran Merendero de Nueva York*,<sup>12</sup> to supply the wine and music that help the escape from the city. Mauricio's *merendero* is a stop-off for several merchants and transportation employees who work in the area. He has his regular clients that walk from the neighboring villages of San Fernando and Coslada. His is a business establishment, set up not only to provide the locals with a place to gather (and pay for drinks), but also for the tourists from Madrid to buy their wine and food when they come on their holiday. At the river, the bathers engage in typical beach activities, and there are ambulatory vendors who are there to take their photographs or sell them ice cream and peanuts so that they do not even have to get up from their towels. There is an

---

<sup>12</sup> This nomenclature points to a tendency in the 1950s of highlighting a connection to the United States. As Susana Sueiro Seone observes, after the bilateral agreements between Spain and the United States in September of 1953, American products and brands became increasingly popular. Whereas early Franco publicity had emphasized names that reflected the strength and solitude of Spain (e.g. "Imperio," "Hispania," "Iberia," "Alcázar," etc.), by the middle of the decade Spanish advertising and branding tended towards an "Americanization" (e.g. "América," "Indianápolis," "Washington," "Manhattan," etc.) (330).

entire micro-economy established on the banks of the Jarama that reflects a place-specific consumer society.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, the whole of the area around the river, with its snack bars and infrastructure ready to receive the bathers, demonstrate Lefebvre's insistence that "leisure has been transformed into an industry, into a victory of neocapitalism and an extension of bourgeois hegemony to the whole of space" (*Production* 384). Thus, the river area can only be considered a semi-wilderness at best. This is not an isolated, secret spot on the river that these bathers have discovered on their own. Even the river itself—which is described as "manso pero peligroso," and which undoubtedly proves to be the most overwhelming presence of the day—has been dammed nearby, brought under the control of man. The dam, along with the train that repeatedly passes by at crucial moments,<sup>14</sup> bring to mind the massive public works that the Franco administration was so proud of showing off in its weekly NO-DO newsreels.<sup>15</sup> This is an established bathing spot for the workers of Madrid, accessible, crowded and, for the most part, ordered, or, as Lefebvre would describe it, "arranged" (*Production* 384).

This may help to explain why even though the river is just far enough from the capital to provide the illusion of escape, the group of youngsters is never able to completely leave the pressures of the city behind. As evening approaches, one of them expresses a disgust that is recognizable to anyone who has just remembered that the weekend must eventually end:

—Mañana, lunes otra vez —dijo Sebas—. Tenemos una de  
enredos estos días...  
—¿En el garaje?

---

<sup>13</sup> See Sobejano ("Retrovisión") for a survey of the variety of consumer goods (automobiles, cigarettes, soft drinks, clothing, etc.) that appear in the novel.

<sup>14</sup> Schraibman and Little call the train "un símbolo del destino moderno" that serves as a reminder of the passage of time (333). Medendorp makes its impact explicit on a more psychological level: "el fragor que va aumentándose a cada paso como una amenaza creciente, al que uno tiene la sensación de no poder escapar" (67).

<sup>15</sup> See Sánchez-Biosca and Tranche for the presentation of scientific and public works in NO-DO.

—¿Dónde va a ser?

[...]

—¡Cada día más trabajo, qué asco! El dueño tan contento, pero nosotros a partirnos en dos.

[...]

—¿Entonces, tú qué quieres?

—No tener tanto trabajo. No renegarme los domingos, acordándome de toda la semana. (228)

In this context, Barry Jordan says that the youths are not “willfully lazy or apathetic,” but that their *abulia* stems precisely from their workweek (164). In contrast, the desire to break away from the limits of routine is enacted on the beach, where one is permitted, indeed, expected, to shed the clothing that defines him or her in the everyday. The bathers that Sánchez Ferlosio describes on the beach include children in swimsuits, a shirtless man with the belly of a “Buddha,” and the main group of youths, who take off their shirts and change into their bathing suits as soon as they get to the shore. However, they cannot forsake the structures and practices that characterize their habits back home: the “Buddha’s” wife spends her day preparing a paella while still looking after her children, who in turn constantly clamor for her attention. Even at Mauricio’s, his visitors from Madrid, Ocaña and his family, may extol the “beneficios del campo,” but for them it is only a temporary change of scenery, which provides some excitement for the children, but for the adults is simply a different place for them to continue their platitudes and bickering.

Weekday routines oppress the bathers; however, one can sense additional factors here at the river that contribute to their desperation and boredom. Even from the moment they arrive on the shores of river, there are signs that immediately lead to disappointment:

No llegaron a verlo hasta que no alcanzaban el borde del ribazo.

Apareció de pronto. Casi no parecía que había río; el agua era también de aquel color, que continuaba de una parte a otra, sin alterarse por el curso, como si aquella misma tierra corriese líquida en el río.

—Pues vaya un río... —dijo Mely—. ¿Y eso también es un río?

(29-30)

Mely is one member of the group that has not been to the river before, and though others try to encourage her to enjoy herself, she never really seems to do so, and constantly complains about being bored. In addition to the infrastructure, the fact that the river itself is nearly indistinguishable from the land around it does not allow the group to sense the escape and excitement that they desire from a day away from the city.

The river, and its entire infrastructure of snack bars, swimming holes, record players, patios, and roaming vendors, thus “constrains” the bathers and locals in ways that they may not be able to recognize. On the surface, they exist in order to make the experience more pleasant for them. But they also create expectations for them, and expectations *of* them, assigning them the roles to be played on a Sunday in August. Though the river itself seems to be unremarkable and indistinct, these “boxes for living in” are hidden from the characters’ awareness because they take them for granted. The youths come from Madrid to “disfrutar del campo” and “pegar[se] un bañito” (16), and they come prepared with towels and swimsuits and packed lunches, to eat with



the wine they buy from Mauricio. They do not seem to notice that everyone else on the shores that day has come from Madrid to do the exact same thing, and that the group dynamic that arises on the beach is a reproduction of the one at home. Likewise, the locals at Mauricio's are so identified with their social roles that many of them are hardly referred to by anything other than their occupation or their place of origin. Only one thing occurs during the day to shake them out of their habits: Lucita's death. And though the death itself is treated by the narration in the same manner as every other moment of the day, its effect is profound and reveals just how "functionally and hierarchically" arranged this leisure space really is. The death goes beyond any visitor's expectations of what might happen on a day of leisure, and it requires the involvement of agents of order to evaluate it, classify it, and to put it back into its expected box.

#### Linguistic and Legal Distinction

The duality that defines the river's bank —the expectation that it will be a place of relief, coupled with the realization that no relief is possible— infects two other aspects of the novel that reveal how this leisure space is disciplined: language and law. Throughout the novel, characters appear that assume the roles that are assigned to them, which are to ensure that others maintain the roles that have been assigned in turn to *them*. These figures include the Civil Guards, the judicial secretary, and above all, the investigating judge, all representatives of the juridical field who reinforce their authority through language. In doing so, we can see that their structures of speech are disciplined in much the same way as are the structures of leisure space. Both of them appear to be free, natural, and independent, but both speech and space are standardized.

*El Jarama*, according to the author, is about the spoken word, "el habla, 'la parole', la norma, el idiolecto, la sintaxis interrumpida, el anacoluto cotidiano, la etimología popular,"

(Hidalgo Bayal 19). Both the bathers and the locals speak in a colloquial language that separates them along generational lines. Darío Villanueva identifies two clearly defined modes of speech (*hablas*): “la muy expresiva y creativa de los hombres del pueblo que se reúnen en la venta de Mauricio y la empobrecida e impersonal de los jóvenes que sestan en el río [...]” (103). The youths’ disillusion and hopelessness comes across as much in what they say as in what they leave out of their conversations; their talk is filled with banalities and half-answers that comment on what is directly before them, with little reflection on deeper subjects. What scant cultural or historical commentary that does arise, such as references to the events of the Civil War around the Jarama<sup>16</sup> or the arrival of the American military at the airbase in Torrejón, is brief and usually cut off by another character who is not interested in discussing the subject. Not only what they talk about, but also how they talk about it (i.e., the expressions they use) has been considered indicative of their overall boredom with their lives, and their inability to see beyond their current situation.<sup>17</sup> According to Santos Sanz Villanueva, this has a political purpose: “En cuanto al carácter testimonial, habría que vincularlo al sentido político del relato: una de las formas de novelar una sociedad en la que no ocurría nada era escribir una narración en la que tampoco sucediera nada relevante” (354).<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, the conversations among the older generation of clients at Mauricio’s tavern is usually more extended and more complex (“más rico en matices,” says Villanueva [120]), with a level of comment and analysis that is not present in the younger group. They actually discuss contemporary concerns and are willing to argue and

---

<sup>16</sup> The Battle of the Jarama was fought over three weeks in February 1937, south of where the action of the novel takes place. Though both sides of the war lost thousands of soldiers, it was considered a victory for the republican forces, and included the first fighting of the newly arrived American Lincoln Battalion (Beevor 208-15). At Paracuellos del Jarama, in November 1936, republican militia massacred over 2,000 inmates from the Modelo Prison in Madrid who were suspected of being “Fascists and dangerous elements” (Beevor 173).

<sup>17</sup> For a very detailed analysis of the linguistic characteristics of the novel’s dialogue, see Villanueva (111-23).

<sup>18</sup> Gonzalo Sobejano rejects the view that nothing happens in the novel and sees it as “una novela rebosante de intensidad” (“Retrovisión” 295).

disagree, knowing that this is neighborly debate not meant to offend. For example, they can debate the merits and risks of moving to America, as the *pastor* Amalio proposes, or, after Lucita's drowning, they can disagree on whether the death is more unfortunate because the girl has died so young or because her parents will outlive her.

The preponderance of dialogue is closely tied to the structure of the novel as a whole.<sup>19</sup> A basis of the objectivist novel is that the reader will receive an accurate (objective) image of what the characters are experiencing; however, without the benefit of internal thoughts, the reader can only base his or her interpretations on external signs. The presentation of speech is thus of primary importance, as a method of advancing the action of the novel, regardless of the relative importance of what is actually said. Most critics recognize that the novel has two main structural components, dialogue and description, though opinions have differed on what effect each of them (or both together) has on the reader. For example, Robert Spires sees the dialogue as documenting the reality of the moment, compared to the much more poetic interpretations that are presented in the narrator's descriptions. The discrepancy between what the reader knows from the descriptions and the rather insubstantial reactions offered by the characters in their dialogue (the only insight the reader has into the characters' thoughts), works to distance the reader from the characters and "hacerle [al lector] afirmar su propia sensibilidad frente a la insensibilidad de esta generación de gente resignada a su propia pequeñez" ("Papel" 98). On the other hand, Burguera considers the dialogue to bring reader and character *closer together*, since it gives the reader direct access to the character, without the intercession of the voice of the

---

<sup>19</sup> As Ricardo Gullón observes, "La novela tiene forma de río; su ritmo pausado corresponde al movimiento de éste, apagado y calmo: una y otro adelantan sin prisa, dando la impresión de que el final está lejos y además no importa. La única realidad es la de su pasar incesante; sólo pasa el pasar" (3).

narrator (XL). In either case, because the reader has the final interpretation of the action that is being played out on the page, some connection with the characters is inevitable.

The freedom of casual speech, however, like the ephemerality of a day off, is contradicted by external forces that act on an opposite impulse; namely, a desire to standardize, to fix, and to make more permanent. Not coincidentally, the standardizing force emerges after the appearance of the most permanent element of all: death. Lucita's drowning must be managed and controlled; the one "event" of the story must be explained, understood, catalogued. This process will contrast sharply with the dialogue that dominates the rest of the narration and will signal a confrontation between the civilization of the legal system and the natural order of the area surrounding the river. In this novel of *habla*, the judge represents the "silencing" of voice, the standardization and codification of the collective presence of the bathers. Furthermore, his appearance includes the only moment of the novel that goes against the prevalence of dialogue and description, and instead takes the voice away from those who were present at the river and integrates them into an official, permanent, record. By doing so, he further reveals the infrastructure that underlies this supposed space of leisure. Though the bathers come here to experience something out of the ordinary, an event such as a death is truly exceptional and must be reintegrated into a recognizable order. The death therefore tests the boundaries of leisure, and the judge's power to reestablish those limits rests on his use of a legitimate language.

In his official capacity, the judge defines not only the death itself, but also the entire experience surrounding its aftermath. It is his duty to establish the cause of Lucita's death, an act of interpretation, and to manage the disposal of her body. He has been authorized to do so, and this authority is integrated into the language that he uses and the language with which other characters respond to him. However, Sánchez Ferlosio uses his own language—that is, his

narration—to show that the judge’s authority is constructed. He does this within a single extended section of the novel, in which the reader witnesses the judge’s transformation from a man out with his friends to an official charged with integrating Lucita’s death into the public record. During the first moment in which we see him, at the upscale casino in Alcalá de Henares,<sup>20</sup> the judge and his friends drink, dance, and even speak in a language that is very similar to that of the young bathers.<sup>21</sup> His day off is interrupted by Lucita’s death, and as the narration follows his trip from Alcalá to the river, he assumes his identity as judge and authority figure, and this role is reinforced through his use of language. In this novel in which dialogue is so crucial, the way he speaks—directly, dryly, and without emotion, yet also peppered with Latinates—illustrates his education and his social status. He uses language in the sense that Bourdieu recognizes as appropriate of a professional class designated with power:

The fact remains that this dispossession is inseparable from the existence of a body of professionals, objectively invested with the monopoly of the legitimate use of the legitimate language, who produce for their own use a special language predisposed to fulfill, *as a by-product*, a social function of distinction in the relations between classes and the struggles they wage on the terrain of language. (*Language* 59, italics in original)

---

<sup>20</sup> The Casino was an elite, private club, surely inaccessible to the river-goers and probably a bastion of victorious (high) society. Burguera qualifies the spot as “tan significativo socialmente,” as the casino would be a clear signifier to readers of the period as a space reserved for upper-class clientele (XXVII).

<sup>21</sup> The narrator refers to most of the members of the group not by name (they are minor characters that only appear in this brief scene), but as *chico*, *chica*, and *joven*. The judge, whose name is Ángel, is called “Angelito” by one of his friends, and he refers to the woman he is dancing with as “Aurorita,” diminutives that evoke Lucita, the young girl that has just drowned. The “lofty disdain” with which his colleagues react to his having to leave (Jordan 168) is very similar to the attitude exhibited by the youngsters at the river (prior to the drowning), and they seem just as eager to ensure that Ángel finish his drink as Sebastián and Daniel and the others rushed to down Mauricio’s wine. One striking linguistic similarity arises when one of the judge’s friends uses the colloquial phrase “qué lata” (what a bore) to express her disappointment at the interruption of their evening out.

Once again, distinction is crucial for creating the character of the judge in the minds of those whom he confronts. The language he uses in his official role is intended to produce a space of distinction between him and those he meets while serving. Though he may be at ease with his friends, once he has transformed from his casual Sunday role to his formal judge persona, he is uncomfortable with small talk, and his comments and questions are both succinct and authoritative. At the same time, he mocks the contrived speech of the Civil Guards, who express their authority through an exaggerated mode of “official” expression.<sup>22</sup> The uniformed Guards with their stilted language<sup>23</sup> make an outward show of their authority and carry the outward symbols of power as an effective display for keeping order among the crowd. The judge, on the other hand, takes control of his surroundings as soon as he arrives, and fits much more naturally into his official capacity.

Still, the “natural” quality of the judge’s influence is not characteristic of him in his private life, in which he is trying to enjoy himself on his Sunday off just as much as everyone else. Rather, his authority comes as he takes on the role of a representative of judicial power and the state. José Shraibman and William Little see the judge and his entourage as the epitome of juridical power, in that they are figures whose “pseudo-autonomy” arises from the image that the other characters have of them (341). That image depends on the separation of the juridical field, which, as Bourdieu understands it, stems from its power to control and manipulate the language through which it functions. The judge has been brought in from outside in order to evaluate the

---

<sup>22</sup> —¿Cuándo llegaron ustedes?

—¿Nosotros, Señoría?

—Sí, claro.

—Pues nosotros, Señoría, nos hicimos presentes en el crítico momento en que estos señores depositaban en tierra a la víctima.

—¿A qué hora fue?

—El hecho debió de ocurrir sobre las veintiuna cuarenta y cinco, aproximadamente, salvo error.

—Ya. Las diez menos cuarto, en resumen —dijo el Juez [...]. (379)

<sup>23</sup> Villanueva calls it “rimbombante y pseudo-oficial” (112).

situation because, “As third parties without direct stakes in the conflict (which is not the same thing as neutral), and ready to comprehend the intense realities of the present by reference to ancient texts and time-tried precedents, the specialized agents of the law introduce a neutralizing distance without even willing or realizing it” (Bourdieu “Force” 830). Through witness testimony and registration of the dead girl’s personal belongings, the abstract personal experience of the tragedy is integrated into a specific model handled by the system in which the officials participate, without much consideration for the friends and passers-by who are directly affected by her death. The authorities will use language, and in particular written language, to codify Lucita’s death and integrate it into a public record that has the power to appropriate it and limit its possible interpretations.

Compared to the rest of the novel, the judge’s interrogation of the witnesses to Lucita’s drowning distorts language in a unique way. In addition to dialogue and the narrator’s description, the interrogation scene includes several passages that reproduce the official notes of the inquiry, as transcribed by the judge’s secretary. The secretary’s transcription is most relevant because it presents the testimony in its official form, the only version that will remain after the interrogation is over. According to Bourdieu, the professionally “competent” are the ones empowered as gatekeepers to decide what enters the official record and what does not, and thereby legitimize a certain vision of the social world (“Force” 817). Therefore, in this brief moment of stylistic experimentation, the author takes the narration away from the objectivist “camera’s eye” and shifts it to the secretary’s pen. The shift from objective to official is analogous to the movement from an ostensibly free space to one that functions within a hierarchical order and conforms to its defining “boxes.” That is, in order to enter a hierarchical space, one must make a decision on how to approach it and is changed as soon as he or she is

admitted. In other words, whereas the objectivist style claims to have a free gaze over the action that it narrates, exempt from subjective limits and biases, once the transcription is carried out the event will be limited to a single perspective.

In this way, the written testimony becomes not only transcription, but also an act of interpretation, by which the secretary has fixed the testimony into an acceptable, legal form. What he records is what will remain of the testimonies in the official record, and, combined with the “judgment” of the judge, represent the official reaction to the death of the girl. The secretary’s transcription perfectly displays the “rhetoric of impersonality and neutrality” that Bourdieu identifies as a main characteristic of judicial language (“Force” 819).<sup>24</sup> This creates a “neutralization effect,” the result of “a set of syntactic traits such as the predominance of passive and impersonal constructions. These are designed to mark the impersonality of normative utterances and to establish the speaker as universal subject, at once impartial and objective” (“Force” 820). In order for its authority to remain legitimate, the judicial presence cannot seem biased or interested, but must rather be seen as something general, universal, and eternal. This disinterested position reinforces the distinction that separates the judge’s authority from the bathers who witness the death with a much more emotional reaction.

The judge has the power, simply by being an “authority,” to appropriate Lucita’s death and remove it from both the temporal and spatial limits of the rest of the novel. As a part of the public record, the death will endure longer than the memories of the witnesses or any of Lucita’s friends. The art of the dialogue in this novel lies in capturing the variety of expressions used by both young and old. But just as the novel’s epigram tells us that the river’s waters pass and never

---

<sup>24</sup> According to Squires, Sánchez Ferlosio is so successful at reproducing the objective, impartial language of the transcription that its “clipped and laconic style seems more objective than the objectivism of *El Jarama* itself.” Furthermore, Squires questions the degree of “over-embroidery” that might come out in the narration, once compared to the transcription (“Making Sense” 608).



return, so too do spoken words and the moments that are described, unless they are captured on the written page. Standardization, carried out by transcriptions that integrate spoken testimony into public record, erases the spontaneity and improvisation of orality. Additionally, by writing this *tranche de vie*, Sánchez Ferlosio fixes the moment onto a written document and separates it from the flow of time, just as the secretary and judge take Lucita's death, and her body, away from her friends by making it part of the official record.

Beyond the mere fact that death is a disruptive experience, the judge's handling of Lucita's drowning reveals certain links between the judicial process and the creation of a leisure space. The judicial officials, through their use of language, can be defined by a paradoxical relationship in which they must at once appear "natural" (that is, expected, fitting, unforced, etc.), yet they must maintain a distinction that identifies them as an "other." The judge does not speak like the locals or like the youngsters—even though we see at first that he can and does in other circumstances—because he has been called in to handle a situation that is outside the realm of expectations of any other character. His transformation from party-goer to government official takes place seamlessly within the narration, and his position is never questioned by any other character, because his authority is reinforced by the language of the juridical field. Likewise, leisure space is regarded as a place where people can escape their habitual surroundings. It has its appeal because we expect it to be different from our norm. However, as we have seen, leisure space must also be built upon an infrastructure that conforms to expectations that make it familiar to us. Therefore, leisure, language, and law all participate in a process of standardization that is meant to create the appearance of distinction but that conforms to the "boxes for living in" that we come to expect.

## Local Interpretations

Nevertheless, what is the real result of the judge's activity at the river? Though he is summoned to the river for one purpose (i.e., to interpret Lucita's death), Sánchez Ferlosio suggests that the ultimate judgment and interpretation is not the one submitted by the judge and his secretary. As we have seen, the judge undergoes a transformation as he takes on his role as judge, and it is only in his official capacity that he is capable of commanding the authority needed for him to fulfill his duties. By exposing that transformation, Sánchez Ferlosio denaturalizes the process and weakens some of the judge's authority in the eyes of the reader. Furthermore, in order to do so, not only does he transform himself; he also takes charge of another local bar, owned by a woman named Aurelia. By appropriating her bodega, he converts a utilitarian space into a separate, reserved space of interpretation in which he can interrogate his witnesses and gather the information he needs to make his judgment. The judge, as representative of a legal system that supports the workings of an authoritarian regime, uses the separate space in order to enact his power. Within that space, the legal apparatus can interpellate the girl's death into what will become its permanent record.

On the other hand, the rest of the novel undermines much of what arrives with the judicial apparatus and what it represents. The Civil Guards, though they demand respect and present themselves as authority, are ridiculed by many of the characters, including the bathers and the judge himself. The subversion of the judge takes place on a deeper level. The other characters in the novel respect him, but the narration, and therefore the reader, does not. By including his transformation from civilian to judge, Sánchez Ferlosio reveals the role-playing inherent in the adoption of power and the way the judge's distinction is produced. This transformation is the reason why the judge's entire journey to the river is included in such detail. We see the judge

establish his “front,” which, according to Erving Goffman, serves as “the expressive equipment [...] intentionally or unwittingly employed by the individual during his performance” (22). The physical distance that the judge must travel in order to reach the river parallels the emotional and authoritative distance that he holds above the other characters in his capacity as judge. But it is also necessary to see the distance that exists between the judge and the bathers with whom he will interact arising not from some inherent difference in the type of people they are, but in the elaborate “mask” that the judge will adopt in his duties as judge, and the deference with which the other characters will treat him according to their expectations of his official position. The judge’s appearance after the drowning and his appropriation of Lucita’s body and the space around it may seem like the natural steps behind a judicial investigation, but the way in which it disrupts the spatial and temporal unity of the novel reveal the extent to which it is fabricated. The codified order that he represents is unmasked as artificially constructed and therefore unnatural. Furthermore, in this dramatic situation, the reader already knows how Lucita died, and none of the testimonies add anything to our knowledge of tragedy. By paying so much attention to the entire investigative process, yet showing that there is no mystery to disentangle, the narration places the reader in a position of authority even greater than that of the judge. Additionally, Sánchez Ferlosio’s objectivist style solidifies the power of the reader through its external point of view, which leaves the reader to interpret the “objective” facts in the same way as the judge is asked to do.

Within the text, however, the final interpretation of Lucita’s death, and of what it represents on a larger social scale, does not emerge from the judge’s separate authority, whose distance from the incident may give it impartiality but also strips it of any empathy. Nor does it arise, perhaps surprisingly, from the young people who came with Lucita to the river, and who

prove to be too close to her to understand what has happened.<sup>25</sup> Rather, the final interpretation of the day's events arises in the words of the locals at Mauricio's bar. And their judgment comes not in the form of an official transcription written in standardized language, but in the aspect around which most of the novel has been structured: their speech. When they learn of Lucita's death, the men at Mauricio's express sorrow, but they do not show any surprise, because, unlike for the bathers, it is an experience that fits within their expectations of the river. Like the judge, this is not the first time that they have known of someone drowning in their river. If anything, they almost scoff at the relative calmness of the river's current during the summer in comparison with the way it rages in the winter: "En invierno, en invierno, entonces tenían que venirlo a ver, cuando carga y se pone flamenco él; para que supieran con qué clase de individuo se gastan los cuartos" (363). Here, the locals personify the river and make it into an authority of its own, even claiming that it has its own law. They use the word *ley*. They also notice that those who die every year are overwhelmingly from Madrid, who only come to have fun and who do not show the river its proper respect.<sup>26</sup> Darío Villanueva claims that the river sides with the locals, against the onslaught of the city folk: "El río Jarama es el encargado de vengar el desenfreno vital de los madrileños, provocado por su régimen deshumanizado de la vida, que se opone al más natural de los que viven en sus riberas" (149). In this sense, the river's aggressiveness has been seen as poetic justice, a revenge of nature against civilization, for the audacity of the city folk who come every summer to the river without respecting its "law."

---

<sup>25</sup> This comprehension may eventually come: "Yet, [Lucita's] death may not be altogether meaningless since it does open possibilities among her group for a new awareness; after the accident, and as we would expect, their conversations are more cautious, thoughtful, reflective; the effect of the accident is likely to raise questions concerning why she died and what she was trying to escape from" (Jordan 168).

<sup>26</sup> "Quieren coger el cielo con las manos, de tanto y tanto como ansían de divertirse, y a menudo se caen y se estrellan," says the shepherd (403).

Thus, the locals speak about the river with the same language as others in the novel speak about the Civil Guard and the judge, in terms of *ley* and *respeto*. Only the judge, as the highest authority present that day, may make the death official in the eyes of the state. Yet from the villagers' point of view, the only authority that matters is the force of the river, which is capable of coming out of its course and grabbing people, "con uñas y manos." Jo Labanyi has suggested that this description of the river as a monster and of Lucita's death as a curse depends too much on a mythification that "works against the novel's effectiveness as social criticism" (48). To regard the river as a vengeful power against the arrival of the city is to replace one universal interpretation for another. They refer to different "natures" (one is natural in the sense of Barthes's myths, constructed by tradition, the other is based on nature itself), but they perform the same function in explaining and dealing with (i.e., interpreting) Lucita's death. While it is true that the shepherd admits that his portrayal of the river has been somewhat exaggerated (Riley 137), it may be that the most adventurous and satisfying interpretation of the drowning comes from the group of locals that hardly knew Lucita, but certainly know the river.

That familiarity with the surrounding space is crucial to the locals' ability to view the death. They, like the judge, have a distance from the dead girl that allows them to analyze the situation without getting as emotional as her friends. However, what separates them from the judge's extreme coldness and disengagement is their ability to see the drowning in context. For them, the river is not a leisure space as it is for the bathers from Madrid. They relate to it in the manner of people completely comfortable with (though respectful of) their surroundings, with no element of wonder or mystery. And they deal with it in the same way that they have dealt with everything else that has come their way during this Sunday: by talking about it. They are not constrained by the formulaic rituals of officialdom, but rather, free to keep their judgment

human. Located between the distance required of the judge's official duties and the intensity of the personal experience of Lucita's friends, the locals find themselves in a position to offer the most balanced perspective.

Finally, in the context of distinction, the local's understanding of the death suggests an alternative interpretation to the one proposed by Labanyi. Rather than working against the novel's social criticism, the mythical interpretation of the death channels the social criticism towards the oncoming urbanization and modernity. Myth relies on tradition, and therefore inherently rejects modernization and the changes that come with it. The urban bathers and the judicial apparatus come from the outside, and they bring with it the standardization of an incipient modernity. The locals, on the other hand, turn to what they know without distinction, the river, in order to understand what has happened that day. By placing the death in a familiar context, they avoid placing it into the standardized construct of the judge's frame of reference. The death need not be categorized or forced into a specific model. Rather, it can be allowed to be natural, like the river itself, which has no reason to stop its flow.

## Conclusion

The drowning in the river marks the liminal spot where the countryside and urban expansion meet in conflict. By setting his novel in this location, Sánchez Ferlosio could use the meeting of two worlds to explore the confrontation. In the final interpretation, it appears that the country could maintain an advantage, as the deceptive strength of the river could take the life of a careless city swimmer at any moment. The river takes vengeance on the approaching city, and the locals are able to maintain their independence because they have the ultimate power of interpretation of the girl's death. These local interpretations say that death, even when tragic, is

part of a natural order. Even though green zones could be so-named by law, and the judicial law could be summoned to try to explain an event such as the death of a young girl, natural forces still make their own rules. In this reading, *El Jarama*'s final message is similar to that of other texts we have seen in this study. The novel presents the encroachment of the city onto the rural, and in its final pages Sánchez Ferlosio turns to an anti-modern nostalgia in which the rural is still able to defend itself. The city is the negative presence, the "monster," not the river. In the way that the city threatens the rural, the novel thus brings us back to the menacing presence of the city in *La colmena*, *Surcos*, *Los golfos*, and the housing films.

This nostalgia is evidence of inevitable change, however; the city's threat is real and the river's "revenge" is essentially a last-ditch effort. As the arrival of the judge proves, this leisure space cannot be completely outside the jurisdiction of an established hierarchy. His codification of the drowning in itself, as well as his personal transformation, is a manifestation of the power that city has over the countryside. The infrastructure that has been built up around the swimming hole points to the presence of a public order that would continue to bring nature into its sphere. As time progressed, what originally made the area attractive as a getaway would have a negative effect. As modernization and urban expansion continued, the places where tourists once escaped the city would become city; what was once *campo* would turn into a collection of industrialized suburbs of the capital. Increasingly, as the city would not stop growing, the city dwellers would continue to reach out further beyond its limits. In this spirit, the critic Manuel Lacarta notes:

*El Jarama* se adelanta a la realidad de su momento histórico. Los excursionistas y veraneantes de la actualidad, los domingueros, los propietarios de chalets y parcelas ajardinadas con mimo tal vez no perciban con claridad en este libro este gesto premonitorio del

Madrid masivamente invasor, acaparador celoso de todas las latitudes castellanas, de todos los espacios anteriormente no conquistados. (146)

In this quote, Lacarta points to one kind of expansion and relief, the kind that will allow a city to take over land as its population and economy grow. There is an indication of this at the end of Sánchez Ferlosio's novel, after Lucita's body has been taken to the cemetery and after all her friends and the last of the locals at Mauricio's have gone home. As Lucio, the man who opened the novel, walks in the moonlight towards his home in San Fernando, the sound of the river below disappears, and we are told that the noise is blocked by the first buildings on the edge of town, "casitas muy nuevas, de ladrillo a la vista, y aún la mayoría sin habitar" (411). The houses will soon be inhabited by new residents, who will perhaps become regular clients at Mauricio's, or they will be bought by city dwellers who wish to have a place to go to on the weekends. These homes are not necessarily symbols of regeneration, but of unstoppable advancement; the "flow" of urban dwellers that will eventually drown out the flow of the river and overtake it as it becomes part of the metropolis.



## Conclusion

The “casitas muy nuevas” that appear on the banks of the Jarama River in the final pages of Sánchez Ferlosio’s novel are a reminder that in the 1950s, Madrid would establish its domination over a wide expanse of surrounding areas. The capital rebuilt itself after the devastation of the three-year Spanish Civil War with the expressed intention of exerting its authority over its “zone of influence.” Under the pressures of massive rural-to-urban migration, the city underwent a transformation that resulted in both its physical expansion and in its strengthened position as capital of Franco’s Spain. This study has explored how this spatial and political growth affected the people who experienced Madrid’s space as part of their everyday lives. The analysis of cultural products that both comply with and dissent from the effects of the transformation has exposed how the disciplining of urban space can be used to discipline urban citizens.

This dissertation was organized spatially, with marked influence of the Plan Bidagor and the urban vision of the regime’s planners. The ideological implications of their organic ordering of space sought to impose order where they believed chaos had previously reigned. By separating the zones of the city into their distinguished functions (as organs within a system), planners believed they could also categorize and control the people who occupied those spaces. As the films and novels included in this study show, in addition to laws, much of that control was manifested through the creation of expectations as to how those different spaces would or could be lived.

Though the chapters of the dissertation have been organized spatially, modeled on the Plan Bidagor’s concentric circles, my research has also revealed a concurrent progression in the usage of space over the first two decades of the dictatorship. The establishment of Madrid as a place of production (as seen in Chapter Two, on *La colmena*) attracted migrants to the city in

search of work (Chapter Three, *Surcos* and *Los golfos*). The arrival of tens of thousands of migrants caused pressure on the housing available to new and established residents (Chapter One, housing films), and an eventual desire to escape the city in a reach for leisure and potential relief (Chapter Four, *El Jarama*). Throughout the period, as the nation moved away from autarky and into the international community, unfamiliar consumerist pressures amplified demographic pressures to alter the mentality of the urban subject. Throughout the project and across the different spaces I have studied, certain themes have reappeared.

First, a primary observation throughout has been that the expectations of space are crucial to the experience of space; when someone anticipates the characteristics of a place before arriving to it (be it a home, a leisure spot, or the city itself), his or her behavior can be affected by the degree in which reality meets or falls short of his or her expectations. To reprise Lefebvre's terms, these expectations are not limited only to those who "perceive" and therefore "live" the space, but also to those who "conceive" it. For example, the official discourse that defined how domestic space could lead to fulfilling one's "social destiny" was the product of an ideology that was often far removed from the real people who actually were trying to fulfill that destiny for themselves. Likewise, attracting people to a space, whether with the promise of getting work (*Surcos*) or the promise of getting away from it (*El Jarama*), means portraying the city in a certain way. Unfortunately for those who come to these spaces with their own expectations, rarely does reality live up to what was promised, and instead it often results in disappointment.

The second theme that I have observed is the breakdown of the division between public and private space. At its most literal level, the loss of private space equates exposure, and a loss of intimacy. Martín Marco's forced flaneur or the hopeless wandering of the characters played by Fernán Gómez in the housing films show that no space—whether we consider it space, place,

or non-place— offers the relief for which they are searching. The lack of intimacy is compounded by the need for these protagonists to confront institutions of power that control housing permits, rationing cards, or the legal system that seeks to codify and standardize any personal expression. Everything is made public when there is no place to hide.

A final theme that runs through all of these works is the clash between the collective and the individual. The ever-morphing crowds of *Surcos* and *Los golfos* or the blurry bathers that occupy the background of the beach in *El Jarama* offer no sense of comfort to the protagonists who are trying to find their place in the city. The largest groups portrayed in these novels and films are the family or gang, but these are torn apart until all that is left is the individual, most concerned with looking out for him or herself. Personal relationships prove to be based on economic gain, convenience, or personal survival; very seldom is there any sense of the solidarity that was proposed by the regime and by more officialist literature and film.

If we take these three themes together, we are left with individual subjects in open spaces who are dejected and frustrated because their expectations have not been met. From the regime's point of view, the isolation of individuals could be quite beneficial, as these individuals could be reduced to docile, accommodating subjects by separating them from each other. If the masses could not be trusted to remain ordered and at the service of the *patria* (in this way, closer to purely Fascist goals than to those of other right-wing movements) then it was better to divide them and leave them too concerned for their own welfare to protest. Thus, space can have a psychological effect that transfers to the physical actions of those who inhabit it. Rather than controlling every aspect of the citizens' lives, the regime used space to get them to control themselves. The production of space becomes an accomplice to Foucault's "capillary system" of power that produces subjects.

This is a very pessimistic view of society, but it corresponds to the disillusionment felt by many, from different ideological points of view, that did not approve of the regime's handling of affairs. These viewpoints have been predominant in my study, since these films and novels remain to this day models of the limited dissent that was permitted under the dictatorship. As I have discussed earlier in this project, much of this dissidence was expressed through a more realistic depiction of how the structures affected people on an everyday level. When looking at the vision of urban space that emerges from these cultural interpretations, however, I have also found traces of attitudes that are surprisingly similar across ideologies, and, in fact, close to the early negative opinions of the city that were characteristic of the Franco regime. This attitude can be summarized as a nostalgia for a time when an imagined, almost ideal, community solidarity might be enjoyed. As noted above, that solidarity is largely absent from these films and novels, but it is precisely through that absence that I sense the nostalgia. They criticize the regime for failing to produce the solidarity that it claimed to desire. The plight of individuals who must fight against institutions and antagonistic crowds is meant to appeal to an audience or reader that might identify with the individuals and realize that they were not alone, no matter how marginalized they might feel.

Therefore, the isolation is not necessarily a hopeless result, as the margins can be a location in which different individuals negotiate their access to or resistance to the hegemonic power. Much more easily than large groups, individuals can find ways into the gaps that are left by the fragmentation that results from separation. The margins are not simply empty, negative space, but a space where alternatives can be proposed and where self-identity is being formulated and formed. These gaps and margins are also spaces, places, and even non-places for those who live them, and they hold the possibility of resistance.

The very specific parameters with which I selected my primary corpus, as detailed in the introduction (films and novels produced or published in Spain in the 1950s that depict contemporary Madrid), was one of the virtues of this study because it gave me insight into a particular time and place and allowed me to dissect several divergent points of view within those parameters. However, those parameters can also be considered limitations of this project and leave the door open to future studies. For example, a project that unearths or even just considers an alternative corpus to the mostly canonical one chosen here might lead to a more optimistic interpretation. The inclusion of more texts in favor of the regime's policies, though easily dismissed as propaganda, might expose urban structures that worked in favor of the city's inhabitants. Another alternative corpus might include texts that were produced in exile, such as *La otra cara* (José Corrales Egea, 1962), which, while more vocally opposed to the regime, would afford a depiction of Madrid that did not have to pass the censors first. Texts from exile of course present another layer for interpretation, given that their production from a distance has a basis in memory that is not a factor in the texts I have studied. This is particularly true in the films, which use contemporary reality as a setting, one that is not so easily available to artists in exile.

Indeed, the ever-expanding presence and importance of historical memory studies in Spain plays a small role in this study because of the contemporary corpus that I chose. The presentation of contemporary life in these films and novels (perhaps only *La colmena* could be considered retrospective, but only very slightly and only because of its delay in getting published) was the main ambition of the authors and filmmakers; they were not "looking back" at an earlier time, and this focus on the present was precisely the position from which they could offer their critique. The inclusion of memory studies, perhaps through the comparison of these texts with

others that have been produced more recently and look back at the postwar period (the popular Televisión Española soap opera *Amar en tiempos revueltos* —now on Antena 3 as *Amar es para siempre*— comes to mind) would suggest an entire set of alternative questions that I feel are outside the scope of this study —such as wondering how much of present-day representations are results of the sixty years of history that have passed since the 1950s.

Still, the exploration of the regime's production of rhetorical space —whether we consider it Franco's or Bidagor's— as it appears in its laws, plans, propaganda, and censorship, coupled with the varied reaction from the cultural sector that I have included here, can have implications on how we remember and forget past lessons. The loss of private intimacy certainly does not mean that individuals lose the “boxes for living in” that define and limit their options. Capitalism also has the very real power to “create space,”<sup>1</sup> and in the 1960s Spain was about to undergo an economic transformation that was still nascent in the 1950s. When the government project of autarky failed, government economic intervention was relaxed (a large part of the *Plan de Estabilización* of 1959), and the free market was encouraged to take on the ordering of space through economic development. In 1956, Pedro Bidagor himself was charged with the elaboration of Spain's first national land law, the *Ley sobre Régimen del Suelo y Ordenación Urbana*. This fundamental urban planning law was devised to combat property speculation by consolidating urbanism as the responsibility of the national government and instituting a model of urban planning based on functional zoning (Goldsmith 333). However, the 1956 law

---

<sup>1</sup> Though it has been tangential to my study, a critique of capitalism is central to Lefebvre's Marxist stance and to that of those who have further developed his theories, such as David Harvey. Fraser relays Lefebvre's “famed dictum” that capitalism has survived through the twentieth century “by producing space, by occupying a space” (*Lefebvre* 11). Harvey builds upon this by stating that, “It is sometimes enough to enter the space of the factory, the state, or a community to conform to its supposed requirement in ways that are both predictable and unthinking. Thus does the symbolic order of a city's spaces impose upon us ways of thinking and doing which reinforce patterns of social life. [...] The urbanization of capital, by virtue of its powers to create space, thereby finds a tacit means to entrain an urbanized consciousness” (qtd. in Richardson *Constructing* 12).

eventually proved decisive in integrating private enterprise in the housing market and greatly influenced the type of housing available to the new urban citizen. The Franco government was happy to hand developmental responsibilities to private companies that were in search of profits. Since then, the Spanish government has revised and reformed the *Ley del suelo* in 1976, 1990, 1998, and 2008, each time ceding more control of urbanization to increasingly unregulated private interests.

As I finish this dissertation, Spain is mired in an economic and political depression that is universally referred to as *la crisis*. This crisis—which has brought with it record unemployment, debt default, bankruptcy, foreclosures, home evictions, and suicide—is the result of the bursting of the housing bubble of the 2000s. To return to some ideas from Chapter One, placing homeownership at the center of social destiny tied housing to a sense of achievement that would allow citizens to feel that their lives were complete. Already in the housing films of the 1950s—whether they presented housing in a favorable or critical light—one can sense a nostalgia for earlier models of community (epitomized by the *casa corrala*) and disdain for the new constructions that were portrayed as *chapuzas*: small, cheaply built, inconvenient, impersonal, and devoid of intimacy. The impulse to build more and build bigger, an impulse that arose from the profit ambitions of real-estate developers and construction companies, was already evident in the critical films of the 1950s. Fifty years later, the promise of a home, encouraged by cheap borrowing from banks backed by confident international lenders, boosted the expectations of young couples eager to start their lives together in their own home. Five years after the bursting of the housing bubble, many may feel that the *destino social* of homeownership is more out of reach than ever.

### Works Cited

- Abella, Rafael. *La vida cotidiana bajo el régimen de Franco*. 2nd ed. Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 1996. Print.
- Armes, Roy. *Patterns of Realism*. New York: Garland, 1986. Print.
- Asún, Raquel. "La colmena y la novela española de postguerra." *La colmena*. By Camilo José Cela. Madrid: Castalia, 2001. Print.
- Augé, Marc. *Non-Places: An Introduction to Supermodernity*. London: Verso, 2008. Print.
- Bachelard, Gaston. *The Poetics of Space*. Boston: Beacon, 1969. Print.
- Baker, Edward, and Malcolm Alan Compitello, eds. *Madrid de Fortunata a la M-40: un siglo de cultura urbana*. Madrid: Alianza, 2003. Print.
- Bardem, Juan Antonio and Luis García Berlanga, dirs. *Esa pareja feliz*. Perf. Fernando Fernán Gómez and Elvira Quintillá. Altamira, 1953. Film.
- Barthes, Roland. *The Eiffel Tower, and Other Mythologies*. New York: Noonday; Farrar, 1979. Print.
- Bazin, André. *What Is Cinema?* Vol. 2. 1971. Berkeley: U of California P, 2005. Print.
- Beevor, Antony. *The Battle for Spain: The Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939*. New York: Penguin, 2006. Print.
- Benjamin, Walter. *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*. London: Verso, 1983. Print.
- . "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." *Illuminations*. New York: Schocken, 2007. 217–53. Print.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Ed. John B. Thompson. Trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1991. Print.
- . "The Force of Law: Toward a Sociology of the Juridical Field." *The Hastings Law Journal* 38 (1987): 805-53. PDF File.
- Brandis, Dolores. *El paisaje residencial en Madrid*. Madrid: Ministerio de Obras Públicas y Urbanismo, Dirección General de Acción Territorial y Urbanismo, 1983. Print.
- Brasó, Enrique. *Carlos Saura*. Madrid: Taller de Ediciones J. Betancor, 1974. Print.
- Burch, Noël. *Theory of Film Practice*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1981. Print.



- Burguera, María Luisa. "Introducción." *El Jarama*. By Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2006. IX-XLVI. Print.
- Castells, Manuel. *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1983. Print.
- Castro, Antonio. *El cine español en el banquillo*. Valencia: F. Torres, 1974. Print.
- Cazorla Sánchez, Antonio. *Fear and Progress: Ordinary Lives in Franco's Spain, 1939-1975*. Chichester, U.K.; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. Print.
- Cela, Camilo José. *La colmena*. 1951. Ed. Raquel Asún and Adolfo Sotelo Vázquez. Madrid: Castalia, 2001. Print.
- . *La colmena*. 1951. Ed. Gonzalo Sobejano. Madrid: Alianza, 1998. Print.
- . *La colmena*. 1951. 15th ed. Ed. Jorge Urrutia. Madrid: Cátedra, 2007. Print.
- Cercas, Javier. "El pasado imposible." *El País* 22 Apr. 2002. Web. 17 July 2013.
- Certeau, Michel de. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1984. Print.
- Chueca Goitia, Fernando. *Madrid, ciudad con vocación de capital*. Santiago de Compostela: Pico Sacro, 1974. Print.
- Collantes, Fernando, and Vicente Pinilla Navarro. *Peaceful Surrender: The Depopulation of Rural Spain in the Twentieth Century*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2011. Print.
- Comas, Ramón, dir. *Historias de Madrid*. Perf. Tony Leblanc, Licia Calderón, and Mario Morales. Interpeninsular, 1958. Film.
- Corrales Egea, José. *La otra cara*. Paris: Librería Española, 1962. Print.
- Crumbaugh, Justin. *Destination Dictatorship: The Spectacle of Spain's Tourist Boom and the Reinvention of Difference*. Albany: SUNY P, 2009. Print.
- Davidson, Robert A. *Jazz Age Barcelona*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2009. Print.
- . "Spaces of Immigration 'Prevention': Interdiction and the Nonplace." *diacritics* 33.3/4 (2003): 3–18. PDF File.
- Davies, Ann. *Spanish Spaces: Landscape, Space and Place in Contemporary Spanish Culture*. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2012. Print.

De Sica, Vittorio de, dir. *Ladri di biciclette*. Perf. Lamberto Maggiorani, Enzo Staiola, and Lianella Carell. ENIC, 1948. Film.

—, dir. *Miracolo a Milano*. Perf. Emma Gramatica, Francesco Golisano, and Paolo Stoppa. ENIC, 1951. Film.

Delgado, María. “Saura’s *Los golfos* (1959; Released 1962): Heralding a New Cinema for the 1960s.” *Spanish Cinema: The Auteurist Tradition*. Ed. Peter William Evans. Oxford, Oxford UP, 1999. 38-54. Print.

Díaz Gijón, José R. et al. *Historia de la España actual, 1939-2000: autoritarismo y democracia*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, Ediciones Jurídicas y Sociales, 2001. Print.

D’Lugo, Marvin. *The Films of Carlos Saura: The Practice of Seeing*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1991. Print.

Dougherty, Dru. “Form and Structure in *La colmena*: From Alienation to Community.” *Anales de la Novela de Posguerra I* (1976): 7-23. Print.

Durán, Manuel. “La estructura de ‘*La colmena*’.” *Hispania* 43.1 (1960): 19-24. PDF File.

Egido, Luciano G. “Cine histórico español.” *Nuestro Cine*. Aug. 1961: 20-23. Print.

“El Programa de Falange Española de Las J.O.N.S.” *ABC* 30 Nov. 1934 : 32–34. PDF File.

Eslava Galán, Juan. *Coitus Interruptus: La represión sexual y sus heroicos alivios en la España franquista*. Barcelona: Planeta, 1997. Print.

—. *Los años del miedo*. Barcelona: Planeta, 2008. Print.

Fernán Gómez, Fernando. *El tiempo amarillo. Memorias (1943-87)*. Vol. 2. Madrid: Debate, 1990. Print.

—, dir. *La vida por delante*. Perf. Fernando Fernán Gómez, Analía Gadé, and José Isbert. Estela, 1958. Film.

—, dir. *La vida alrededor*. Perf. Fernando Fernán Gómez, Analía Gadé, and Manolo Morán. Mercurio, 1959. Film.

Fernández Anta, Dolores, Elena López Portero, and María del Mar Luca Viña. “La vivienda en Madrid 1939-1961.” Facultad de Geografía e Historia, U Complutense, 1999. Web. 7 Feb 2013.

Fernández-Galiano, Luis, Justo F Isasi, and Antonio Lopera. *La quimera moderna: Los Poblados Dirigidos de Madrid en la arquitectura de los 50*. Madrid: Hermann Blume, 1989. Print.

- Ferreri, Marco, dir. *El pisito*. Perf. José Luis López Vázquez, Mary Carrillo, and Concha López Silva. Documento, 1959. Film.
- Foster, David William. *Forms of the Novel in the Work of Camilo José Cela*. Columbia, MO: U of Missouri P, 1967. Print.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage, 1995. Print.
- Fraser, Benjamin, ed. *Capital Inscriptions: Essays on Hispanic Literature, Film and Urban Space, in Honor of Malcolm Alan Compitello*. Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 2012. Print. Homenajes 41.
- . *Henri Lefebvre and the Spanish Urban Experience: Reading the Mobile City*. Lanham, Md.: Bucknell UP, with Rowman, 2011. Print.
- . "Narrating the Organic City: A Lefebvrian Approach to City Planning, the Novel, and Urban Theory in Spain." *Journal of Narrative Theory* 39.3 (2009): 369–90. Print.
- . "Thornbury on Trains, Gender and Tokyo." *Urban Cultural Studies Podcast*. Urban Cultural Studies Blog, 3 Aug. 2013. m4a File.
- Fuero del Trabajo de 1938. *Constituciones hispanoamericanas: Leyes fundamentales de la etapa franquista*. Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes. *n.d.* Web. 19 Aug. 2013.
- Ganivet, Ángel. *Idearium español*. 1896. Ed. E. Inman Fox. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1990. Print.
- García Berlanga, dir. *¡Bienvenido, Mister Marshall!* Perf. Lolita Sevilla, Manolo Morán, and José Isbert. Mercurio, 1953. Film.
- , dir. *Plácido*. Perf. José Luis López Vázquez, Elvira Quintillá, and Manuel Alexandre. 1961. Film.
- , dir. *El verdugo*. Perf. Nino Manfredi, Emma Penella, José Isbert. Ars, 1963. Film.
- Gil Casado, Pablo. *La novela social española, 1942-1968*. Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1968. Print.
- Giménez Frontín, J. L. *Camilo José Cela: texto y contexto*. Barcelona: Montesinos, 1985. Print.
- Goffman, Erving. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Anchor, 1959. Print.
- Goldsmith, Trevor. "From Falangism to Technocracy: The Legislation and the Reality of Spanish Urbanism in Barcelona, 1939-1976." *Journal of Urban History* 37.3 (2011): 331–54. PDF File.
- Gracia García, Jordi. *La resistencia silenciosa: fascismo y cultura en España*. Barcelona:

- Anagrama, 2004. Print.
- Graham, Helen. "Gender and the State: Women in the 1940s." *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction*. Oxford, UK: Oxford UP, 1995. 182–95. Print.
- Graham, Helen, and Jo Labanyi, eds. *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction: The Struggle for Modernity*. Oxford, UK: Oxford UP, 1995. Print.
- Gubern, Román. *La censura: Función política y ordenamiento jurídico bajo el franquismo (1936-1975)*. Barcelona: Península, 1981. Print.
- Gubern, Román et al. *Historia del cine español*. 7th ed. Madrid: Cátedra, 2010. Print.
- Gullón, Ricardo. "Recapitulación de *El Jarama*." *Hispanic Review* 43.1 (Winter): 1-23. PDF File.
- Harvey, David. "Space as a Keyword." *David Harvey: A Critical Reader*. Malden, MA; Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 2006. 270–93. Print.
- Henn, David. "Cela's Portrayal of Martin Marco in *La Colmena*." *Neophilologus* 55 (1971): 142-49. Print.
- Herederó, Carlos F. "De la autarquía académica a la disidencia realista (cine español de los cincuenta)." *España, años 50: una década de creación*. Madrid: SEACEX, 2004. 207-13. PDF File.
- . *Las huellas del tiempo: cine español, 1951-1961*. Madrid: Archivo de la Filmoteca Española, 1993. Print.
- Hidalgo Bayal, Gonzalo. "Elogio del Geco." *Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio, escritor*. Alcalá de Henares, Spain: U de Alcalá, 2005. 18-21. Print.
- Hooper, John. *The New Spaniards*. London; New York: Penguin, 1995. Print.
- Ilie, Paul. *Literature and Inner Exile: Authoritarian Spain, 1939-1975*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1980. Print.
- "Imposición de la Medalla de Oro de Avila al ministro de la Vivienda." *La vanguardia española*. 11 Nov. 1958: 6. PDF File.
- Ingenschay, Dieter. "Bees at a Loss: Images of Madrid (before and) after *La colmena*." *After-Images of the City*. Ed. Joan Ramon Resina and Dieter Ingenschay. Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 2003. Print.
- Jordan, Barry. *Writing and Politics in Franco's Spain*. London: Routledge, 1990. Print.

- Juliá, Santos. *Un siglo de España: política y sociedad*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 1999. Print.
- Juliá, Santos, David R Ringrose, and Cristina Segura. *Madrid: historia de una capital*. Madrid: Alianza, 1995. Print.
- Kinder, Marsha. *Blood Cinema: The Reconstruction of National Identity in Spain*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1993. Print.
- Labanyi, Jo. *Myth and History in the Contemporary Spanish Novel*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1989. Print.
- Lacarta, Manuel. *Madrid y sus literaturas*. Madrid: Avapiés, 1986. Print.
- Lara, Fernando. "Un cine de resistencia / A Cinema of Resistance." *Breaking the Code*. Pérez Millán 11-13.
- Larson, Susan. "The Spatial Fix: Censorship, Public Housing and the Altered Meanings of *El Inquilino*." Fraser, *Capital Inscriptions* 123–36.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1991. Print.
- . *The Urban Revolution*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2003. Print.
- Ley de Principios del Movimiento Nacional de 1958. *Constituciones hispanoamericanas: Leyes fundamentales de la etapa franquista*. Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes. n.d. Web. 19 Aug. 2013.
- Liehm, Mira. *Passion and Defiance: Film in Italy from 1942 to the Present*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1984. Print.
- López Díaz, Jesús. "La vivienda social en Madrid, 1939-1959." *Espacio, tiempo y forma. Serie VII, Historia del arte: revista de la Facultad de Geografía e Historia* 15 (2002): 297-338. PDF File.
- López Juan, Aramis Enrique. "Estudio de las fuentes cinematográficas para la investigación y docencia de los procesos urbanos: los barrios marginales de las ciudades españolas." Diss. U de Alicante, 2004. PDF File.
- Lynch, Kevin. *The Image of the City*. 1st ed. Cambridge, Mass: M.I.T. P, 1964. Print.
- Marcus, Sharon. *Apartment Stories: City and Home in Nineteenth-Century Paris and London*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1999. Print.
- Marquina, Luis, dir. *Así es Madrid*. Perf. Rafael Arcos, Francisco Bernal, and Irene Caba Alba. CIFESA, 1953. Film.

- Martín Gaité, Carmen. *Usos amorosos de la postguerra española*. 1987. Barcelona: Anagrama, 2005. Print.
- Martín-Santos, Luis. *Tiempo de silencio*. 1962. Ed. Alfonso Rey. Barcelona: Crítica, 2005. Print. Clásicos y Modernos 6.
- Marsh, Steven. *Popular Spanish Film Under Franco: Comedy and the Weakening of the State*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. Print.
- Medendorp, F.Z.S. "El Jarama, sus símbolos e imágenes." *Neophilologus* 65.1 (1981): 62-78. PDF File.
- Monterde, José Enrique. "Continuismo y disidencia (1951-1962)." *Historia del cine español*. Ed. Román Gubern. Madrid: Cátedra, 1995. 239-93. Print.
- . "Del neorrealismo en el cine español." *Por un cine de lo real: Cincuenta años después de las Conversaciones de Salamanca*. Valencia: Institut Valencià de Cinematografia Ricardo Muñoz Suay, 2006. 51-60. Print.
- . "Un modelo de reapropiación nacional. El cine histórico." *Cine, nación y nacionalidades en España*. Ed. Nancy Berthier and Jean-Claude Seguin. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2007. 89-98. Print.
- Morley, David. *Home Territories: Media, Mobility, and Identity*. London: Routledge, 2000. Print.
- Mur Oti, Manuel, dir. *El batallón de las sombras* Perf. Amparo Rivelles, José Suárez, and Rolf Wanka. Suevia, 1957. Film.
- Neville, Edgar, dir. *Mi calle*. Perf. Roberto Camardiel, Pedro Porcel, and George Rigaud. Chamartín, 1960. Film.
- Nieto Ferrando, Jorge, and Juan Miguel Company Ramón, eds. *Por un cine de lo real: cincuenta años después de las Conversaciones de Salamanca*. Valencia: Institut Valencià de Cinematografia Ricardo Muñoz Suay, 2006. Print.
- Nieves Conde, José Antonio, dir. *El inquilino*. Perf. Fernando Fernán Gómez and Mari Carmen Alonso. Films Españoles Cooperativa, 1957. Film.
- , dir. *Surcos*. Perf. Luis Peña, María Asquerino, and Francisco Arenzana. Chamartín, 1951. Film.
- Orduña, Juan de, dir. *Alba de América*. Perf. Antonio Vilar, María Martín, and José Suárez. CIFESA, 1951. Film.
- Ortega, José. "Importancia del personaje Martín Marco en *La colmena*." *Romance Notes* 6

- (1965): 92-95. Print.
- Overbey, David, ed. *Springtime in Italy: A Reader on Neo-Realism*. Hamden, Conn: Archon, 1979. Print.
- Pack, Sasha D. *Tourism and Dictatorship: Europe's Peaceful Invasion of Franco's Spain*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. *Open WorldCat*. Web. 13 June 2013.
- Palacio, Manuel. "Early Spanish Television and the Paradoxes of a Dictator General." *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, and Television* 25.4 (2005): 599–617. PDF File.
- Pavlović, Tatjana. *The Mobile Nation: España cambia de piel (1954-1964)*. Bristol: Intellect, 2011. Print.
- Pavlović, Tatjana et al. *100 Years of Spanish Cinema*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009. Print.
- Payne, Stanley. *Fascism in Spain, 1923-1977*. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1999. Print.
- Pereda, Carlos, Walter Actis, and Miguel Ángel de Prada. *Inmigración y vivienda en España*. Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, 2005. Print.
- Pérez Millán, Juan Antonio, ed. *Breaking the Code: Películas que burlaron la censura en España / Daring Films that Mocked the Repression in Spain*. Salamanca, Spain: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo. 2007. Print.
- . "Los golfos (*The Delinquents*, 1959)." *Breaking the Code*. Pérez Millán 55-60.
- . "Surcos (*Furrows*, 1951)." *Breaking the Code*. Pérez Millán 25-30.
- Pérez Moreta, Jacinto. "El Madrid de Camilo José Cela." *Biografía literaria de Madrid*. Ed. Matilde Sagaró Faci. Madrid: El Avapiés, 1993. 255-81. Print.
- "Plan General de Ordenación Urbana de Madrid." *Plan Bidagor 1941-1946: Plan General de Ordenación de Madrid*. Ed. Carlos Sambricio. Madrid: Consejería de Obras Públicas, Urbanismo y Transportes, Comunidad de Madrid; Madrid: Nerea, 2003. 120-302. Print.
- Preston, Paul. *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-century Spain*. New York; London: Norton, 2012. Print.
- Preston-Whyte, Robert. "The Beach as Liminal Space." *A Companion to Tourism*. Ed. Alan A. Lew and Colin Michael Hall. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004. 350–59. PDF File.
- Ramonedá, Arturo, ed. *Antología poética de la Generación del 27*. Madrid: Castalia, 1990. Print.
- Redero San Román, Manuel. "Los años cincuenta en las obras generales sobre el franquismo."

- La España de los cincuenta*. Ed. Abdón Mateos. Madrid: Eneida, 2008. 413–24. Print. Puntos de Vista 16.
- Relph, E. C. *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion, 1976. Print.
- Resina, Joan Ramón, ed. *Iberian Cities*. New York: Routledge, 2001. Print.
- . “Madrid’s Palimpsest: Reading the Capital Against the Grain.” *Iberian Cities*. Ed. Joan Ramon Resina. New York: Routledge, 2001. 56–92. Print.
- Resina, Joan Ramón, and Dieter Ingenschay, eds. *After-images of the City*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2003. Print.
- Richardson, Nathan E. *Constructing Spain: The Re-imagination of Space and Place in Fiction and Film, 1953-2003*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell UP, 2012. Print.
- . *Postmodern Paletos: Immigration, Democracy, and Globalization in Spanish Narrative and Film, 1950-2000*. Lewisburg, PA; Cranbury, NJ; London: Bucknell UP; Associated UP, 2002. Print.
- Riley, Edward C. “Sobre el arte de Sánchez Ferlosio: aspectos de *El Jarama*.” *Novelistas Españoles de Postguerra*. Ed. Rodolfo Cardona. Madrid: Taurus, 1976. 123-41. Print.
- Ríos Carratalá, Juan A. *Lo sainetesco en el cine español*. Alicante, Spain: U de Alicante, 1997. Print.
- Román, Antonio, dir. *Los últimos de Filipinas*. Perf. Armando Calvo, José Nieto, and Guillermo Marín. CEA, 1945. Film.
- Rossellini, Roberto, dir. *Germania, Anno Zero*. Edmund Moeschke, Ernst Pittschau, and Ingetraud Hinze. G.D.B., 1948. Film.
- Rueda Laffond, José Carlos. “El desarrollo de la ciudad y la política urbanística.” *Historia de Madrid*. 2nd ed. Ed. Antonio Fernández García. Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1993. Print.
- Sáenz de Heredia, José Luis, dir. *Raza*. Perf. Alfredo Mayo, Ana Mariscal, and José Nieto. Ballesteros, 1941. Film.
- Sánchez-Biosca, Vicente, and Rafael R. Tranche. “Los años 50 en NO-DO: de la autarquía al desarrollismo.” *Historia contemporánea de España y cine*. Ed. Aitor Yraola. Madrid: U Autónoma de Madrid, 1997. Print.
- Sánchez Ferlosio, Rafael. *Alfanhuí*. 1951. 4th ed. Barcelona: Destino, 1981. Print.
- . *El Jarama*. 1956. Ed. María Luisa Bruguera Nadal. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2006. Print.



- Santa Cruz Astorqui, Jaime. "Estudio tipológico, constructivo y estructural de las casas de corredor en Madrid." Diss. U Politécnica de Madrid, 2012. PDF File.
- Santiáñez-Tió, Nil. *Topographies of Fascism: Habitus, Space, and Writing in Twentieth-century Spain*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2013. Print.
- Sanz Villanueva, Santos. *Historia de la novela social española (1942-1975)*. 1st ed. Madrid: Alhambra, 1980. Print.
- Saura, Carlos, dir. *Los golfos*. Perf. Manuel Zarzo, Luis Marín, and Óscar Cruz. Films 59, 1959. Film.
- Schraibman, José, and William T. Little. "La estructura simbólica de *El Jarama*." *Philological Quarterly* 51.1 (1972): 329-42. PDF File.
- Sharpley, Richard. "Tourism and the Countryside." *A Companion to Tourism*. Ed. Alan A Lew and Colin Michael Hall. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004. 374-86. PDF File.
- Shiel, Mark. *Italian Neorealism: Rebuilding the Cinematic City*. London: Wallflower, 2006. Print.
- Sherzer, William. "La función de las calles en dos novelas madrileñas." *Madrid de Fortunata a la M-40: un siglo de cultura urbana*. Ed. Edward Baker and Malcolm Alan Compitello. Madrid: Alianza, 2003. 239-64. Print.
- Sobejano, Gonzalo. "*La colmena*: olor a miseria." *Lección de novelas: (España entre 1940 y ayer)*. 1st ed. Madrid: Mare Nostrum, 2007. 106-19. Print.
- . *Novela española de nuestro tiempo 1940-1974: (En busca del pueblo perdido)*. 3rd ed. Madrid: Mare Nostrum, 2005. Print.
- . "Prólogo." *La colmena*. By Camilo José Cela. Madrid: Alianza, 1998. Print.
- . "Retrovisión de *El Jarama*: el día habitado." *Lección de novelas (España entre 1940 y ayer)*. Madrid: Mare Nostrum, 2007. 280-98. Print.
- Spires, Robert C. "Cela's *La Colmena*: The Creative Process as Message." *Hispania* 55.4 (1972): 873-80. Print.
- . "El papel del lector implícito en la novela española de posguerra." *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 38.3 (1974/1975): 94-102. PDF File.
- Squires, Jeremy S. *Experience and Objectivity in the Writings of Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio*. Lewiston, N.Y: E. Mellen, 1998. Print.

—. “Making Sense of Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio’s *El Jarama*.” *The Modern Language Review* 86.3 (1991): 602-12. JSTOR. 21 January 2011. PDF File.

Steimatsky, Noa. *Italian Locations: Reinhabiting the Past in Postwar Cinema*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2008. Print.

Stone, Rob. *Spanish Cinema*. Harlow, England: Longman, 2002. Print.

Sueiro Seoane, Susana. “La publicidad comercial en la España de los años cincuenta: el ‘American way of life’ y la transformación de la sociedad española.” *La España de los cincuenta*. Madrid: Eneida, 2008. 327–36. Print.

Taylor, Charles. *Modern Social Imaginaries*. Durham: Duke UP, 2004. Print.

Taylor, Diana. *Disappearing Acts: Spectacles of Gender and Nationalism in Argentina’s “Dirty War.”* Durham and London: Duke UP, 1997. Print.

Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1977. Print.

Ugarte, Michael. “Hispanism’s Crisis and the Compitello Generation.” Fraser, *Capital Inscriptions* 65-78.

Urrutia, Jorge. “Introducción.” *La colmena*. By Camilo José Cela. 15th Ed. Madrid: Cátedra, 2007. Print.

Vernon, Kathleen M. “Culture and Cinema to 1975.” *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Spanish Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999. 248–66. Print.

Villanueva, Darío. *El Jarama de Sánchez Ferlosio: su estructura y significado*. Santiago de Compostela (Spain): U de Santiago de Compostela, 1973. Print.

Visconti, Luchino, dir. *Ossessione*. Perf. Clara Calamai, Massimo Girotti, and Dhia Cristiani. ICI, 1943. Film.

Willem, Linda M., ed. *Carlos Saura: Interviews*. Jackson, MS: UP of Mississippi, 2003. Print.

Williams, Raymond. *The Country and the City*. New York: Oxford UP, 1973. Print.

Wood, James. *How Fiction Works*. New York: Farrar, 2008. Print.